The
World Tomorrow

SEPTEMBER, 1931

Can *France* Be Saved?

by Devere Allen

Justice and Religion in Kentucky

an editorial

Champion of Women and Children

The Story of Grace Abbott

Have We a Money Trust?
by
Harry W. Laidler

What Shall We Do About Russia?
by
Brent Dow Allinson

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIV SEPTEMBER, 1931 No. 9

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Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; $2 per year; Canada, $2.25; foreign, $2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV September, 1931 No. 9

Editorials

Justice and Religion in Kentucky

"Jesus is Soon Coming: Are You Ready?" These words, painted in bold letters on a large arrow pointing to the sky, greeted us as we entered Kentucky. "Prepare to Meet God," "Do Not Steal," "Go to Church Regularly," and similar admonitions appeared on highway billboards. As we journeyed towards Harlan County, now the scene of ruthless industrial warfare, at frequent intervals we passed church buildings, and in the evening we heard a congregation singing "Blessed Jesus."

In the Harlan County jail we visited with an old friend who is now in the clutches of "the law." Arnold Johnson was previously Sherwood Eddy's secretary and is now preparing for the ministry at Union Theological Seminary. From Dr. Eddy and seminary professors he caught a glimpse of the meaning of religion in economic life and decided to spend his summer doing relief work and other forms of helpful service with the miners of Harlan County, who are on strike against intolerable conditions. Wages are low, employment is irregular or unobtainable, high prices are charged at company stores, under-weighing at the scales is not uncommon, and misery is abysmal. Yet when the miners under these circumstances strike for better treatment, they are looked upon as dangerous characters. They are terrorized by armed strike-breakers and private guards, and sometimes even by "officers of the law." Several miners have been shot from ambush, their automobiles have been dynamited, their leaders have been kidnapped, brutally beaten and taken across the state line, with warnings not to return. The miners are, therefore, in a bitter and reckless mood. Many of them go armed constantly and are prepared for direct action. The conservative United Mine Workers Union in this section has largely been supplanted in influence by the I. W. W. and the militant Communist organization with its gospel of class hatred and violence.

Mr. Johnson came into this region as a representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Civil Liberties Union, for the purpose of aiding relief work and the effort to secure justice for the miners. He was soon accused of being an organizer for the I. W. W. and warned by "operators, judge and sheriff" to get out of town. When he refused to be intimidated, he was arrested on a charge of criminal syndicalism, that is, advocacy of the violent overthrow of the Government. The evidence produced in court to prove this charge is utterly ridiculous. A room which he had formerly occupied was searched and some of his papers seized.

We were permitted to examine the literature which was supposed to prove his guilt and made a complete list as follows: a copy of the *Survey,* March 25, 1922; a copy of the League for Industrial Democracy *Monthly,* June, 1931; a copy of the *Unemployed,* Spring 1931, published by the League for Industrial Democracy; a copy of *Mr. Justice Langdon Dissents,* a new chapter in the Mooney-Billings Case, published by the Arbitrator Press; a copy of *National Defense,* by Kirby Page; a copy of *Southern Labor in Revolt,* with a foreword by Norman Thomas, published by the Intercollegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy; a copy of *Even Adam Had a Hearing,* published by the Committee on Labor Injunctions, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union; a copy of *Gastonia,* published by the Conference for Progressive Labor Organization; page two of a mimeograph report of the American Civil Liberties Union, June 4, 1931; two private letters; and a copy of *What do you Mean—Free Speech?,* published by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The last of these pamphlets contains a passage which was the prosecutor's trump card. Primarily on a basis of having in his possession the following words, Arnold Johnson is behind prison bars as an enemy of society: "Therefore, it is perfectly clear that orderly progress can be achieved only by unlimited free speech. No man should ever be locked up for what he says—even if he advocates overthrowing the government by violence, or advises the destruction of property. Let him spout any foolishness he likes. The time to lock him up is when he actually starts to do something. If someone who hears him takes his advice and starts something, lock them both up."

No effort was made to prove that Johnson had advocated the violent overthrow of government, or even that he had circulated literature which advocated the use of violence for this purpose. Solely on the charge that he had in his possession the literature listed above, he is being held for the exorbitant bail of $10,000, half of which is appearance bail and half peace bail. The latter is a guarantee that he will not disturb the peace in any way and would probably be forfeited on

another fake charge. Excessive bail is one of the weapons being used against the miners. The prosecutor indicated that the case would be dropped if Arnold would agree to leave the county, but the latter has even refused to accept release as long as the second five thousand dollars peace bail is demanded.

The domination of the region by the coal operators includes unwavering support from their hired men who are elected as sheriffs and judges. Thousands of men throughout Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and other coal states are victims of even more flagrant miscarriages of justice than that of which Arnold Johnson is the victim. Additional evidence could have been secured by the Wickersham Commission for its report on "lawlessness in law enforcement" if its representatives had examined the situation in this area. In a report recently issued the Wickersham Commission said: "Physical brutality, illegal detention, and refusal to allow access of counsel to the prisoner is common . . . confessions of guilt frequently are unlawfully extorted by the police from prisoners by means of cruel treatment. . . When all allowances are made, it remains beyond doubt that the practice is shocking in its character and extent, violative of American traditions and institutions, and not to be tolerated."

What do the churches of Kentucky and other states propose to do about it?

Gandhi and the Round Table

Whether or not Gandhi will attend the second Round Table Conference in London is still uncertain as we go to press. The new breach was produced by the refusal of the Government of India to yield to the Mahatma's demand that the controversy over the alleged violations by the Government of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement be referred to an impartial tribunal for settlement. It will be recalled that when the non-coöperation movement was suspended in March, the Government agreed that ordinances promulgated in connection with the civil disobedience movement would be withdrawn, prosecutions pending against non-violent non-coöperators dropped, non-violent prisoners released, unpaid fines remitted, and forfeited movable property returned.

Ever since the truce was signed complaints have poured in that local governments were flagrantly violating the agreement. As long ago as July 9th, under the heading "Is It Crumbling?" Gandhi wrote: "Complaints are pouring in from many parts that the local officials are breaking the Delhi Pact to pieces and that it almost looks as if the Government was at war with the Congress and therefore every Congressman a suspect. From the dates I shall give of the events about to be described the reader will see that for long I suppressed publication in the hope that the cases brought to my notice were isolated instances and that the complainants would receive relief on application to their respective Provincial Governments. My hope however was disappointed."

If the Government finally refuses to yield, and the Mahatma stays away from the Round Table Conference, there is little probability that the conclusions of that body will be accepted by the Indian National Congress. In that event another civil disobedience campaign will probably be inaugurated. Even if Gandhi does take his place at the conference, stupendous difficulties must be overcome before a final agreement can be reached.

It should be remembered that by the terms of the truce, Gandhi is bound to accept the principle of federation and to recognize the necessity for "reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters as, for instance, defense, external affairs, the position of minorities, the financial credit of India and the discharge of obligations." *No commitment has been made, however, with regard to the details of these safeguards.* The degree and form and duration of British control over the reserved subjects are yet to be determined. All such decisions reached to date are *tentative and provisional.* All agreements negotiated at the first Round Table fall within this category. This fact was made crystal clear at the conference itself.

Moreover, Mr. Gandhi has said repeatedly that the Round Table proposals as they stand are not acceptable. "I must confess," he writes in *Young India* for March 12, 1931, "that what seems to have been yielded by them at the Conference in London is not even half enough—no approach to the goal that India has in view." Indeed, the Mahatma made it clear that he would attend the new conference with reluctance. When it became apparent that the Hindu-Moslem controversy over representation could not be settled prior to the Round Table, Gandhi recommended that the Congress refrain from participation, since he regarded unity as essential to success. He was out-voted in the Working Committee and agreed to abide by the decision of his colleagues that he should go to London, if satisfactory agreements could be reached with the Government.

Four factors combine to produce serious doubts as to a successful outcome of the conference. First, lack of unity on the part of Hindus and Moslems. Second, reluctance on Great Britain's part to grant *immediately* "the substance of independence," without which Mr. Gandhi's support cannot be gained. Third, wide divergencies as to the nature and duration of the temporary safeguards. Fourth, radical disagreement as to the basis of the franchise and representation for different groups in India.

The last point deserves special emphasis. If the proposals of the First Round Table are accepted, the dice will be loaded in favor of the princes, land-owners, industrialists and money-lenders, and adequate provision will not be made for representation of the work-

ers, peasants and untouchables. "Unless a radical revision is made in the latter stages of discussion," said Mr. Shiva Rao at London, "the position of the workers will not only be not better than it is today, but in some respects it will be definitely worse."

The Bill of Rights for India which was passed by the Indian National Congress at Karachi represents an utterly different point of view from the London Draft, as may be seen from the following proposals: "adult suffrage . . . a living wage for industrial workers . . . labor to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom . . . substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenues paid by the peasantry . . . imposition of a progressive income tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum . . . a graduated inheritance tax . . . military expenditure to be reduced by at least one-half of the present . . . expenditures and salaries in civil departments to be largely reduced . . . protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country . . . control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses . . . control by the state of key industries and ownership of mineral resources . . . control of usury direct or indirect."

It is obvious, therefore, that titanic difficulties must be overcome before the re-convened Round Table Conference can reach a satisfactory agreement. And still further barriers must then be crossed before ratification is accorded by Parliament and the various Indian groups. Unless further substantial concessions are made, Mr. Gandhi is likely to resume civil disobedience and non-coöperation, and in that event, there is every reason to believe that he would receive wider support from the masses than ever before. Encouragement may be gained, however, from the fact that the desperate seriousness of the situation is widely recognized. That India must soon be free is generally admitted not only in Labor and Liberal circles, but also by many Conservatives, under the leadership of Lord Irwin. Hesitation comes chiefly with regard to the speed with which the transfer of authority is to be made. As he landed in India to begin his regime as Viceroy, Lord Willingdon expressed the hope that India "may move rapidly toward the goal of responsibility and a position of absolutely equal partnership with the other dominions under the crown," that is to say, the early achievement of the "substance of independence." The crucial question is this: Will the pace be fast enough?

The Plight of Germany

With the Hoover moratorium in effect and German credit partially stabilized, Americans will be under a strong temptation to forget the serious situation in central Europe. The political events of last June and July threw a vivid, not to say lurid, light upon the desperate situation in continental Europe, a situation which makes one almost despair of the possibility of saving democratic and republican government in Germany. If it is remembered that the destruction of democratic government in Germany, whether through a fascist or communist venture, will throw the whole of Europe in turmoil, it may be seen that interest in the fate of Germany is prompted by more than pity for an unhappy people or sympathy for their present none too stable government.

The two great difficulties which Germany faces in remaining within the complex of economic and political relationships usually termed western civilization are to be found in America and in France. American indifference and lack of understanding for world relationships will make it extremely difficult to extend the Hoover moratorium next year. Our action thus far has the merit of destroying the old dogma that reparations and interallied debts have no relation. But without a great deal more political education than the American people now have they will not be willing to adopt a course generous enough to be of real help in saving Germany from two generations of economic slavery.

French hostility presents an even more formidable difficulty than American indifference. The French succeeded by their two weeks of haggling in negating much of the beneficent effect of the Hoover moratorium. While the French bargained, more capital fled from Germany than the entire worth of the moratorium. Only with great difficulty was this damage repaired, and then not fully. It is a question whether Germany now has sufficient credit to carry on indefinitely. She failed to get more because the French wanted to bargain politically for their economic aid. Their political goal may be put into a very simple formula. They will help Germany overcome her economic crisis only if Germany will promise to refrain from challenging the political effects of the treaty of Versailles, which has become to the French the law and the gospels. Very specifically this means that they do not want the Germans to effect the virtual annexation of Austria which is implied in their proposed customs union and that the Germans must cease agitating in regard to the eastern frontier and the problem of the corridor.

Critics of German diplomacy have been bewailing the death of Stresemann and have expressed the opinion that had this author of Franco-German reconciliation not died prematurely, relations between these two continental nations would be more amicable. They forget, however, that Stresemann accomplished his work of conciliation by not raising too many ultimate questions. He took the immediate and pressing questions, and in return for giving France a sense of security on the Franco-German border won from her the freedom of the German Rhineland. The Dawes and

the Young plans were also a part of the price he paid for French concessions. He knew very well that Germany could not continue to make the payments contemplated in these arrangements but he was willing to cross one stream at a time. Meanwhile a new generation is growing up in Germany and it is increasingly restive under the economic and political restrictions under which a great people are forced to live. This new generation will either force the present German government to more vigorous action or it will fashion new political instruments which will destroy the peace of both Germany and Europe. What Stresemann did was to say for prostrate Germany, "If you will take your knee off our chest and your grip off our windpipe and let us stand and breathe, we will let you manacle our hands. What is more, we will go to work and pay you a tribute of all our earnings." The fact that this was the best bargain which Stresemann could strike does not make the political manacles and the economic tribute to which Germany is still bound either morally right or politically expedient.

France as the chief beneficiary of the victory of Versailles is not likely to renounce her advantages without pressure. Her actions during the past summer prove that she is willing to court fascist and communist revolutions in Germany rather than yield her advantages. She will yield only if sufficient pressure is used by England and America. That is a dangerous procedure but the alternative is even more dangerous. Moreover it requires a degree of American participation in European politics which runs counter to all our traditions, though it is certainly not incompatible with our real interests.

Whether it is French hostility or American indifference which creates the greatest problems for Germany, it is obvious that both of them can be overcome only by a more constant and intelligent interest of America in world affairs. If either fears or political dogmas deter us we may be sure that western civilization will perish in Germany and she will become either an ally of Russia or a nationalistic maverick in the European herd. The former fate is the more likely one.

No Longer an Asylum for the Oppressed

For the first time in history, more emigrants left America during the fiscal year which ended June 30th than landed upon our shores. The net loss during this period was 10,237, while the incomers totaled only 97,139, the smallest number of arrivals since 1844. The Bureau of Immigration further announces that the number of immigrants for the current year will probably fall to 50,000.

To understand the significance of these figures, we need to keep in mind the fact that prior to the World War the United States was receiving a million immigrants annually. For a full century America was a land of refuge for multitudes of Europeans who fled from political oppression and economic privatio That freedom and opportunity awaited all comers w the proud boast of American orators and publicis The contrast in political and economic conditions he and abroad was cited as proof of our superiority.

This turn of the immigration tide is another link the chain of evidence that this country has now co of age industrially. As long as the United States w a pioneer land with vast territories of virgin soil to cultivated, railways to be constructed, mines to opened and factories to be erected and operated, the was a shortage of labor and immigrants were w comed, indeed they were diligently sought by lab agents. And it might be pointed out in passing th one reason why there is now so little unemployme in the land of the Soviets is found in the fact that Ru sia is still in the pioneer stage, awaiting developmer But with the passing of the frontier, the transform tion of the United States into an urban and industri civilization, the marvelous advances in technologic science, and the slump in world trade, the labor ma ket became glutted and the stream of immigration h been shut off. Hardly a question has been raised this country concerning the effects of our new poli upon the peoples of Europe. Once more idealism h been submerged by economic forces.

Within a few days of the publication of these imm gration figures, the Wickersham Commission release its report on the deportation of aliens by the Depar ment of Labor. That foreign born residents and ch dren of foreign born parents are more criminally i clined than are native born citizens is widely believe by old-fashioned Americans. Yet the Wickersha report says: " . . . the strong likelihood appears th the foreign born in the United States can be definite exonerated from the charge that they have been r sponsible for a disproportionate share of the crim current in the country."

Critics of the present system of administration hav long maintained that high-handed and illegal mean have been used by agents of the Department of Labo in deporting alien "agitators" and other foreigner branded as undesirable. Now comes vigorous co demnation from the Wickersham Commission of th "unconstitutional, tyrannic, and oppressive" method used. The law covering deportation is administere by one agency of the United States Government whic "acts as investigator, prosecutor, and judge, with de potic powers." Recommendation is made that "th caliber of immigration inspectors and patrolmen shoul be raised; they should be taught and made to observ constitutional rights and elementary principles of fai ness in their investigations and examinations." Th creation of an independent "board of alien appeals composed of men of judicial caliber and given au thority to decide when deportation is advisable is urge by the commission.

Can France Be Saved?

DEVERE ALLEN

OF old, a fine sword had to be tempered in the blood of a slave. The world has not outgrown the practice. I can think of nothing that so admirably sums up the aim of France's ruling classes with regard to Germany.

Recently I have made a trip in a wide circle through Europe, northward across France, through Belgium, into Germany at the height of the crisis, down to Vienna—where last June the collapse of the Kreditanstalt bank started the general financial debacle in central Europe—and around to southern France again. All together, I have spent more than five months in France, in nearly every corner of the country. Nevertheless I am still amazed that the French people, who so frequently display a plucky realism in dealing with concrete problems, can be so grossly misled by their venal press and wily politicians (both as bad as can be found anywhere in the world) into a belief that a prostrate Germany means French security.

The truth is, France stands today in danger. It is a simple matter for anyone to understand that Germany faces peril; the world has heard of little else for weeks. But France, too, is in peril—a subtle peril only aggravated by her secret stocks of war supplies, her brand-new forts, her vast armed forces, her immense reserve of gold. She is in precisely the same danger as that of the unalarmed passenger in the midst of shipwreck, who declared, when warned that the boat was sinking, "Let 'er go down; she don't belong to me."

And so far as France is concerned, the ship can go straight to the bottom. All the honeyed words of diplomacy—which, even at that, are fewer from the French than from other diplomats—do not signify anything to the contrary. When the Hoover moratorium was first suggested, the French government stated that it could hardly stand the loss of the $19,445,000 it would otherwise receive this year. But somehow, acting true to form, it was able to take time out of the preliminary negotiations to pass an appropriation of $96,000,000 for a part of its newest fortifications. It resorted to outworn but previously useful tricks of the trade to influence world opinion—reports through the ultra-nationalist press of "military measures for safety" taken in the crisis along the German frontier; new "discoveries" of documents proving that the German Imperial Government of 1914 had previously plotted to go through Belgium. It tried to wring out of the negotiations a promise of a double payment by Germany next year. It revealed, however, its essential weakness by its fear of having the Young Plan revised, that Young Plan which will never be carried out because it cannot be carried out, that plan which rests on the lie of French innocence in the War, that plan which was nevertheless called "inviolable" a little while ago by the unreliable Briand.

FRANCE constantly insists that Germany curb her nationalists, while allowing the French nationalists to do everything the human mind could well conceive of to increase nationalism in Germany. France builds six new naval vessels, in direct violation of the Versailles Treaty and the Covenant of the League of Nations (which pledge the victorious nations to disarm) while seeking to use Germany's economic crisis as a means to force the abandonment of cruiser building in Germany though that cruiser building, silly as it is, by no means approximates the limit allowed in the Treaty of Versailles. France, which in most cases legally and openly but in some instances illegally and clandestinely has contrived to place a ring of allies around Germany—Jugoslavia, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland—and which has bound Belgium to her by a military and economic pact permitting political union; France, which has been proposing a European customs union, seeks to force the cancellation of the Austro-German customs union on the ground that it is a movement (which is true) basically looking toward political federation—and seeks at once to do this, too, although the matter is to be passed on by the World Court. France, which blocked a move in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission to have the tables of statistical information to be considered in the 1932 conference cover trained reserves and stocks of war material, coolly asserts in an official memorandum that it comes to the disarmament conference refusing to reduce or even limit its armaments unless it secures backing for its cherished scheme of united war against an "aggressor" nation.

France: which in its own official mind stood strong and immovable at the London financial conference, not conceding an inch, but withstood in the sight of the world like an obstinate child, truculent because of a secret sense of incapacity. France: which sees its ally Roumania (bound by an illicit treaty to use French poison gas and Polish airplanes in a future conflict with Russia, Germany, Hungary, or Bulgaria) slipping out from under the maternal thumb and making a Roumanian-German economic accord. France: which finds Czechoslovakia heeding the demands of economic realism and consummating trade treaties with Hungary. France: which, however boldly it may speak,

sees itself gradually assuming in world opinion the rôle of that "aggressor" it so fears elsewhere. France: increasingly regarded as neurotic, whose force builds fear rather than eliminates it, whose fortifications only isolate her daily more and more from international friendships, whose drumbeats only deafen her to truth.

NEARLY all French citizens believe that Germany deliberately precipitated the War and forced it on a France which had done no least thing to bring it about. That French taxes go to pay England and the United States, while German reparations go to rebuild devastated regions. That Germany's second cruiser (which will not be completed for three years, which is aimed by the Germans more at protecting the sea-coast around Danzig from Polish aggression, and which, however unjustifiable, was the price Brüning paid for the continued support of the Reichswehr and the fending off of Hitler) is illegal and a menace. That United States investments in Germany will lead us to see that Germany does not fall, irrespective of what is done by France. That in a pinch the French army (as if the League did not exist) can step in and guarantee Germany's good behavior. That Germany wants to get even. That England is playing both Germany and Italy off against French interests. That the United States is a shylock nation, trying to get European trade and dividends at French expense.

Compared to France, Belgium exhibits, it seems to me, a marked relaxation of hate and vindictiveness. Hard economic sense has been at work, and though its underlying motive may be suspect, individuals desiring German business are often wholly sincere in their eagerness to have their people, who make fewer German contacts, forget the War. A delegation of German journalists was recently invited to visit the Belgian sea-coast, where they were to be received by leading civic officials, anxious to assure them and through them the German people, that Germans coming to Belgium would receive a friendly welcome (especially, it must be confessed, from hotelkeepers). Belgium thus illustrates particularly well the danger of France in at least one aspect; for this idyllic gesture evaporated under the heat of the German crisis. Panic came, instead of German newspapermen; Belgian banks refused to accept reichsmarks, then Belgian hostels refused to accept guests with German money, and then there was an exodus of such Germans as were already there—515 of them from one resort alone in a single afternoon, leaving several hotels empty. Bewildered, frantic, some of them ill and weeping, these returning birds of passage presented a wretched spectacle; in a minor way they were refugees of war, caught up in one of war's ironic, indiscriminate revenges. For *c'est la guerre*—that war still being fought in Europe.

The air was tense that week in France, in Belgium, everywhere, and not alone in Germany. There was bitterness also, rising from the ashes in which it slumbered. There was talk about "the Germans" who had really won the War and were about to let the whole world down; there were words against Uncle Sam who, some said, should not only pay for the War, but for the next war as well, by letting Germany off but seeing that the Allies were paid the usual reparations out of the Treasury at Washington. There was fear abroad once more—that monster which, in international affairs, grows fat on its own flesh. And in the clubs and pressrooms of Berlin, despite the quiet order of the streets, there were constant queries as to whether, and if so when, the Nazi revolution would take place. What would Hitler do?

WHY is it that in Germany and the outside world and especially in France, the question is always of Hitler. You hear little about any Communist revolution in Germany today, though the party is strong and with Russia's aid might still succeed. But Russia is not yet ready for such an adventure; her preoccupation is with the Five Year Plan. Just as violence and ruthlessness in Russia has brought about a paralyzing unwillingness to accept responsibility, so Muscovite dictation has killed native leadership in German Communism. How many Communist leaders can you name? It was different when Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht were alive.

You don't hear much of German Social Democracy. Yet the party is the largest in the Reichstag, with as many seats as all the center bloc combined. The Hitler jump from 12 seats in May, 1928 to 107 in September, 1930, along with a similar increase in Communist seats from 54 to 77, cost the Social Democrats only a drop from 153 to 143. But the same flabby acquiescence in liberal policies, chiefly illusory, that paved the way for Italian fascism and is bedevilling the future of the British Labor Party, has been the rule with German post-War Socialism. It is true that lately their lot has been peculiarly unhappy, in that they have to support Brüning to keep out Hitler, and are obliged to suffer all kinds of humiliation. But their present state has its origin in an earlier lack of action. The party's youth have been drained from it because of its spiritless traditionalism; of its 1,037,384 members, only 321,276 are under thirty-five years of age, and without youth any rapid social change is inconceivable. The control of a number of cities and of Prussia has been enough of a satisfaction to make them slow up in national policies. Only a drastic right-about-face in the assertion of a strong parliamentary program plus the organization of a trump card in the form of a semi-general strike to defeat an unconstitutional Hitler coup, can make the Social Democrats a power of immediate decisiveness. Their attitude in the July Congress of the Labor and Socialist

International, at Vienna, shows that they have probably gone too far already in the direction of compromise to affect events in the early future.

Meantime, Germany still hangs on the brink of disaster, as I write on the seventeetnh anniversary of the War's beginning. It would be an oversimplification to blame France, or indeed any outside forces, alone for the German trouble: counted in must be some of the unbendingly selfish German industrialists, no worse than those in other countries yet certainly no better. But directly, none the less, France is at fault. Her policies have crippled every pacific group in Germany. Of the 140,000 or so university students in the country, observers agree in estimating at least eighty per cent as sympathetic with Hitler; I have heard it put at ninety per cent by cautious outsiders who have been in Germany for many months. Even before the present situation came to a head, the Oldenburg elections of late spring, elections which are regarded as an index of popular opinion throughout Germany, showed a drop from 66,148 to 57,536 by the Social Democrats, a Communist gain from 13,933 to 19,389, and a tidal wave of Nazi strength from 76,216 to 101,496.

WHY, then, has Hitler thus far failed to strike? There is hunger in the land; behind the calm exterior of the people on the boulevards there has been tension; ground between the millstones of economic distress and international indignity, there has been chaff ready to flare up at the least touch of the match. Hitler's mild talk and reluctance—it has been reluctance up to now—has been based on the stark fact that no government can hope to exist in Germany without credits from outside, and Hitler knows he could not get them. He will strike when he sees a chance of holding on. And if he wins out, France's choice will be either immediate capitulation on war guilt, reparations, and the Versailles Treaty or another invasion of Germany (not so easy as the last one economically) which might lead to a series of revolutions generally, the alliances of fascism across boundaries, and the eventual ruin of France, however the war turned out. It is not at all inconceivable, however, that a brief Hitler dictatorship would succumb to a combined push from German and aroused Russian Communism. France itself has large bands of well-organized Communists, sometimes numbered at 200,000. The border states around Russia are hard up financially and too flimsy to withstand any heavy storms. Onlookers in Germany with a far more conservative reputation than I crave, will not own the picture of a war-making, then a bolshevized, Europe to be fantastic. What then of France?

But suppose that France retains her continental dominance, on top, strong in arms and gold, stern, shrewd, driving hard bargains, feared, hated, but secure from any conceivable invasion for many years to come. Her intellectual isolation will increase; she will become still more ingrowing, one of her weaknesses already; her institutions will congeal, her character harden, her generosity shrivel up, her civilization become stultified and withered under the arid spiritual life of a walled-in people. M. Franklin-Bouillon, M. Laval, and others of the Right would count this idle nonsense. But the sword hand that is wielded only against slaves soon loses its strength, and both to intellect and spirit arrogance is a fatal and wasting disease.

Can France be saved? There are French men and women who can save her, if they only have the time. There is a peace movement in France, often courageous, steadily if slowly growing. War resisters continue to increase. Within the Socialist Party there is a sturdy left wing on war. In Catholic and Protestant circles alike, there is gathering a momentum against militarism and especially against the fanning of old prejudices. There is among the simple ordinary people an eagerness for an end to this too-old conflict. There is a definite movement among French intellectuals to save the France of Pascal, Hugo, Molière, Pasteur, Curie, Lenôtre, Greuze, Rodin, from the France of Napoleon and Poincaré. In reality, there is no more a "France" than there is a "Germany," a "Poland" or an "Italy". Nations cannot be considered personalities, sentimentalize or curse them as we may.

But the France that people elsewhere think of when they hear the name, needs desperately to be saved. She is sick of a dire disease, and if she comes to ruin she will be only one in a long line of nations which have suffered and could not be rescued from that same malady.

There will be cries, before long, of another "mad-dog" nation. Within a year or so, "France" will be hated in the ratio she is feared. What can we do to help? We can, first, refuse to hate, ourselves. We can take far more effective steps than we have taken hitherto, to bring about a close *rapprochement* and understanding between French workers for peace and those in the United States—in fact, I offer this as one of the most important needs of peace groups all along the spectrum. But as for governmental policies, I firmly believe that we should induce those in authority to make absolutely no concessions to official France, to do no coddling whatsoever. The stage has been reached in the complex of French opinion where to humor the neurotic is to prolong the neurosis. And we should recognize, and act accordingly, that the success of the 1932 disarmament conference (always assuming our full share of work for our own disarmament) depends primarily on the ability of the world's peace forces, France's own included, to make official France yield to the power of pacific world opinion.

Have We a Money Trust?

HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE great private banks, since the submission of the Pujo report, have continued and flourished, and numerous new private banks have been formed. Morgan and Company has continued its affiliations with the enlarged Guaranty Trust, the First National, the National City, the Chase National and other banks and financial institutions. It has continued as the fiscal agent for the United States Steel, General Electric, International Harvester, International Mercantile Marine, General Motors, E. A. du Pont de Nemours, and American Telephone and Telegraph companies, several Standard Oil companies, the Interborough Rapid Transit, the Montgomery Ward properties, and the New York Central and Great Northern railroads, and, as new and larger combinations have appeared the scope of its financial control has been widened. The Radio Corporation of America, International Telephone and Telegraph and General Motors are among its more recent clients. On the other hand, such corporations as the General Electric, the United States Steel and American Telephone and Telegraph, with their new type of financing, have been less dependent for their domestic operations on their fiscal agent than in the past.

The House of Morgan has continued as fiscal agent of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy and has participated extensively in the organization of the Bank for International Settlements. Its role as fiscal agent of foreign governments during and after the war was a most profitable one and helped to make the Wall Street firm one of increasing power in the financial life of the nation.

Not content with playing these parts, the great Wall Street house has likewise entered actively into several industrial fields. Chief of its excursions has been that into the profitable electrical fields through the organization of the United Corporation. This corporation, with its extensive holdings in the great eastern utilities, is already one of the most powerful forces in the electrical world, and its ultimate aim, rumor in Wall Street has it, is the development of "a gigantic super-power system rivaling in size the nation-wide Bell Telephone link-up of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and stretching over the entire eastern half of the United States."

AMONG other recent ventures in industrial control is its organization of Standard Brands, of which the Fleischmann Yeast Company, the largest yeast producer in the world, is the chief unit.

The House of Morgan is likewise "the dominant factor in the direct investment of American capital in foreign enterprises, being interlocked with most of the giant corporations which are carrying on the struggle for international supremacy." This is particularly true in the fields of communications, of electricity and of natural resources.

The extensive connections at present of the Morgan firm are indicated by the fact that in 1929 J. P. Morgan and his 17 partners held 99 directorships in 72 corporations with combined assets of approximately twenty billion dollars.

The Morgan dependents, Bankers Trust, Guaranty Trust and First National Bank, have interlocking directorships of their own in corporations representing combined resources of sixty-seven billion dollars. In addition, the Morgan allies—Chase National and National City banks—are represented by interlocking directorships in corporations with gross assets of fifty-one billion dollars and net of forty-six billion dollars. Eliminating duplications, the Morgan combination is represented by directorships in corporations with net assets of approximately seventy-four billion dollars, equal to more than one-quarter of all corporate assets.

The Morgan combination likewise dominates investment banking operations. During the first six months of 1930 J. P. Morgan and Company floated issues amounting to $628,000,000, more than 18 per cent of the total. The percentage becomes much larger if the Morgan dependents and allies are included.

This immense power over American industry is concentrated in 167 persons in the Morgan combination who hold more than 2,450 interlocking directorships in corporations. The Morgan system of centralization and control represents a concentration of financial forces, of finance capital imposing in its control over industry. It is the heart of contemporary capitalism. It does not directly control all the corporations in the system, nor the system itself, but acts as a balance wheel, owing to its dominance.

Kuhn, Loeb and Company—Otto H. Kahn, Mortimer L. Schiff, Felix M. Warburg and Jerome J. Hanauer, partners—has continued its sponsorship of large organizations, chiefly in the field of railroad finance. As in the past, it serves as fiscal agent for the Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio, Chesapeake and Ohio, Southern Pacific and numerous other railroad lines, while in the industrial field it represents the Western Union, the Westinghouse and several steel corporations, among other companies.

J. W. Seligman, Lee, Higginson and others mentioned in the Pujo report have remained in the field,

while such firms as Dillon Read, Goldman Sachs, Stone and Webster and Blodget, Lehman Brothers, and Brown Brothers have greatly expanded their operations since the war.

THE post-war period has also witnessed a decrease in the number of national and state banks and the development of super-banks with resources reaching into the billions.

The number of banks was on the upgrade from 1900, when the Controller of the Currency counted some 10,382 banks, to 1921. At this time the number reached a peak of 30,812—an increase during the two decades of nearly 300 per cent. From that peak, partly as a result of bank failures, partly as a result of consolidations, the total gradually shrank. By June 30, 1929, it had decreased to 25,330 for all classifications, a shrinkage of five and a half thousand in eight years, while at the commencement of 1930, it was under 25,000. In fact, it was estimated that in 1929 alone the number diminished by over 1,100. Of this number about 800 were merged in other institutions. During the same eight-year period—1921 to 1929—the total resources in these banks increased from less than fifty billion dollars ($49,671,400,000) to more than seventy billion ($72,173,000,000). The average resources per bank thus advanced from about $1,611,000 to nearly $2,850,000, an advance of nearly 80 per cent.

During 1929 and the early part of 1930 hardly a week passed without an announcement of some powerful financial combination, and of the wiping out—as far as individual identity was concerned—of some great, long-established bank, which the country's inhabitants had long been told was as stable and immovable as the Rock of Gibraltar itself. In many cities during this period a veritable race took place for supremacy among the banks of the country and even of the world. The chief of these contestants in the years 1928-1930 were the National City, the Chase National and the Guaranty Trust.

Back in 1812, the National City Bank began its existence with a capital of $800,000. In 1900 the capital, by that time a million dollars, was raised to $10,000,000; twenty years later to $40,000,000 and, through various stages, in 1928 to $90,000,000. In 1911, when nearing the hundred-year mark, it formed a National City Company, an investment affiliate, which became the largest investment security organization in the world, the sales and loan flotations of which mounted into the billions. It controlled the Bank of Haiti. It ran some 26 branches in New York City and operated over a hundred branches in a score of foreign countries—in Central and South America, in England, on the Continent, in India, China, Japan and other Far Eastern countries. It maintained close contact with correspondent banks here and abroad. It owned and operated a private telegraph system of 11,000 miles of wire in the United States and Canada.

Following the war, the National City acquired the eastern branches of the International Banking Corporation and the People's Trust Company. And by 1928 it could boast of deposits considerably above the billion mark, and of resources exceeding $1,600,000,000. Its deposits alone exceeded the total resources of any other bank in the country. Its directors were distinguished officers of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, General Motors, New York Edison, International Harvester, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Indiana, and of steel, shipping, mining, realty, sugar, soap and other concerns.

This position in the world of finance, however, did not satisfy the officers of this institution. The Guaranty Trust and the National Bank of Commerce were planning a merger which promised to challenge its supremacy among the nation's banks. It felt the urge to rise from the billion dollar to the two billion dollar class. A bank working under a national charter was not so well equipped as were state trust companies to handle the trust business which was becoming of increasing importance with the passing years. These and other considerations seemed to render a further advance advisable.

The result was a merger, under which the commercial business of the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company was taken over by the National City Bank. The trust business of the National City Company, the National City Bank's investment affiliate, was absorbed by a new corporation, under the name of the City Bank Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, while the executive committee of nine was formed to govern the two organizations.

Thus was established the first of the nation's two billion dollar financial institutions, with capital funds, although not resources, substantially larger than those of any other institution in the world. In early January, 1930, the National City Bank's resources were estimated at over $2,200,000,000 and those of the City Bank Farmers' Loan and Trust Company at another $75,000,000. Its premier position among the banks of the country thus for some time seemed secure.

A month following the National City merger, the Guaranty Trust Company completed its amalgamation with the Bank of Commerce, a ninety-year-old institution, the total resources of the merged institutions also bordering on the two billion mark. This merger brought together two non-competing banks, one of which specialized in large trusts, while the other devoted itself primarily to commercial business. Each occupied immensely valuable real estate holdings in the heart of Wall Street adjoining each other and each of them was under an immediate pressure for physical expansion.

THE Chase National Bank, however, was not to be outdone by its two famous Wall Street rivals. This bank, organized in 1877, and thus a comparative stripling among many of its gray-haired competitors, had let but few opportunities pass by of adding to its financial stature. In 1921 it merged with the Metropolitan Bank. Four years later it acquired three foreign branches of the American Foreign Banking Corporation at Havana and Panama. In April, 1926, it absorbed the Mechanics and Metals National Bank, and, at the close of 1927, combined with the Mutual Bank.

A few days after the enlarged Guaranty Trust Company became a fact, the Chase National Bank took under its wing the travelers' check, foreign exchange and other financial business of the American Express Company, which has served American travelers from one part of the world to the other, while, in late June of 1929, it made official announcement of its proposed annexation of the National Park.

Despite these accessions of strength, the Chase National was outstripped by the National City and the Guaranty Trust. Its total resources were still under two billion dollars. It looked for further worlds to conquer. Its next move was the most ambitious of all —to bring into the fellowship of the Chase National the Equitable Trust Company with its vast resources, and, incidentally, the smaller, yet still influential Interstate Bank.

The Equitable Trust Company, formed in the early seventies with a capital of $50,000, had, since 1909, pursued a policy of expansion similar to that of the Chase National. Its consolidation with the Seaboard National Bank in May, 1929, was its fifth merger in two decades and had brought together institutions with resources approaching the $900,000,000 mark.

The move toward the Equitable was successful. The merger was completed in April, 1930, and the Chase National Bank became the largest bank in the country, and, surpassing the Midland Bank of England—the leader of the "Big Five"—emerged as the largest bank in the world. Its estimated resources in March, 1931, were $2,500,000,000.

As a result of these general developments, 250 banks held resources in the beginning of 1930 of $33,400,000,000 out of total bank resources in the nation of $72,000,000,000. *Thus one per cent of the banks of the country directly controlled more than 46 per cent of the total national resources. Twenty-four New York banks, or less than one-tenth of one per cent of the total, have combined resources of about* $10,800,000,000, *or 15 per cent of the total resources in the banks of the nation, while their capitalization of nearly* $700,000,000 *is almost comparable in total to that of the* 20,000 *country banks situated in towns of* 10,000 *population or less.*

The largest banks in the country in late 1930 in point of deposits follow:

TEN LARGEST BANKS, 1930

No.	*Name*	*Total Deposits* (in millions)
1	Chase National, N. Y.	$2,074
2	National City, N. Y.	1,460
3	Guaranty Trust, N. Y.	1,342
4	Bank of America, N. T. & S. A., San Francisco	998
5	Continental Illinois Bank & Trust Co. Chicago	964
6	Central Hanover Bank, N. Y.	661
7	Bankers Trust Co., N. Y.	637
8	Irving Trust Co., N. Y.	625
9	First National, Boston	581
10	Security-First National, Los Angeles	544

The 100 largest banks at the end of 1930 had total deposits of $22,158,000,000, as compared with $15,150,000,000 in 1924. . . .

SUMMARY

We find, therefore, that the credit facilities of the nation are becoming increasingly concentrated. One per cent of the banks of the country control nearly one-half of the total national resources. Concentration has recently been greatly advanced through the consolidation of the key banks of the country, through the development of chain and branch banking, through the manipulations of the investment trust, through the industrial activities of private banks and through other means. The unit bank is fast fading from the scene and America bids fair to follow sooner or later the example of Canada, England and other countries in the concentration of all banking power in a comparatively few gigantic central banking institutions.—(*This article is taken from a book by Harry W. Laidler, entitled "Concentration of Control in American Industry," soon to be published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company.*)

Military Pacifists

"It is by now commonplace to say that there is no more practical pacifist than your professional military man. If he knows the difficulties inherent in war prevention, he also knows far better than any agitator how desirable the prevention of war would be. The American officer does not symbolize, and never has symbolized, the so-called militarist spirit. Instead he is known as a man with a high code of honor, having a sound practical mind in a vigorous body. The training which boys receive at his hands makes them better American citizens and thus more valuable members of the human family. Certainly those who know the Army will take especial pleasure in doing it honor today."—*Editorial, New York Herald Tribune, April 4, 1931.*

Makers of Song

WHAT shall remain of all the domes we rear,
We who carve mansions out of air and sound?
Even for him the world has nobly crowned
Eons shall dawn when none shall care or hear.
Eons shall pass; and though today men cheer,
What of the night? . . . the clock must circle round.
New tribes shall come; or, on this teeming ground
The snake shall rattle, and the sand-storm sneer.

Then why aspire? . . . Surely, we build not less
Than he who models out of stone or clay,
Castles that star the world's flat wilderness,
Shedding rose-glory on the ashen day,
While we, perchance, blown beyond time and stress,
Shall make new songs, till the last sun turn gray.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Tents of Beauty

HOW many leaves did the winds number before old trees had passed
At the coming of my city?
How many grains of dust will blow,
A gold mist in the moonlight, when the glory is gone at last?
We know the way of its coming. None has foreknown the way it will go.

The beauty, the wisdom of my city are very old—as old
As Babylon or as Thebes, Jerusalem, Athens; as old as Rome,
Peiping and Cibola—all. My city is only a story told,
Synthetic beauty and wisdom in an already aging tome.

Tonight one hundred thousand torches jostle deep in the dark.
Are they couriers of knowledge or maddened runners to and fro?
Revellers bearing beacons of hope? Are their whispered tidings stark
With word that soon my city must pass like a camp, must silently go
With old dust in the wind?

There was a roar where the torches were,
A noise as of great machines, a sound as of harsh-lunged voices in riot.
It has fallen now to a murmur like distant wind or a midnight stir
Of an isolate forest. Now half of the lights are gone.

It is very quiet,
But yet are an echo and cry in my ears from the deep where torches ran,
A cry of the weak and hurt, of the halt and the hunted, where shadows teem,
Comfortless crying of Rachel, thin calls of her children, dark voice of her man.
I wonder how soon I may wake on the hill and learn them only a dream.

Oh you, my brothers, who pitch your camp in marble, your tents in stone,
Build truly against an hour you have passed to dust. Build free and strong.
Build not of tears but of joy, against a day when the dream alone
Is bright on dust, blowing in cities where tents of your beauty have passed into song.

RUTH EVELYN HENDERSON

Derelict

THE matron points him out to visitors—
Smiles, and significantly taps her head.
He sits and stares, and heeds not what is said.
His eyes behold enchanted seas and shores
Which they—poor, land-locked fools!—have never known.
And on those days when from the murmuring East
A chill grey fog creeps swiftly, and the least
Tremor of wind brings the salt tang—alone
And free he dares the storm-swept waves—his hand
Upon the helm—taut sails and halyards strain. . . .
Grey fog that whispered through the window pane,
Now wet against his face! . . . The hoarse command:
Reef tops'ls!—and that dull black cloud abaft. . . .
"Oh, shut the window, please—I feel a draft. . . ."

CATHERINE PARMENTER

The Godly Host

HEAR, heavens! Where now is Indra who once hurled
The thunderbolt and took your lightning for
His burning sword? Where Yahweh who of yore
The spacious waters of the Red Sea whirled
Apart, that Israel's banner be not furled?
Where now impetuous Zeus? Where shouting Thor?
Upon what distant, lotus-heavy shore
Encamps the godly host? O answer, world!
The stars are silent. All these mighty names
Fall from my lips as mouthings of a dream.
Then suddenly from the listening trees a low
Clear whisper: *these were towering golden flames*
Man kindled in his heart, gleam upon gleam,
Helping him fit his arrow to the bow.

ALAN JENKINS

Not All the French Want War

DOROTHY WALTON BINDER

THE village of Frederic Fontaine is not on the official map of France. There is no postoffice nor even a local bus route. It lies peacefully untouched five miles from the Paris railroad. It boasts of one general store, which is also the local café, stocked with *sabots,* sardines, soap, and checkered writing-paper. A postmistress bicycles from the next village once a day to collect and deliver mail. On Tuesdays a butcher comes from the nearest shopping center with an auto truck hung with carcasses from which he obligingly cuts off hunks for the assembled housewives. On Thursdays a small variety store on wheels pulled by a dog comes to town, and on Fridays a vegetable truck from Claire Gouette, a village a mile away. Aside from these brief intrusions Frederic Fontaine is sheltered from the outside world. Its 230 inhabitants work hard all day tilling their soil. Its children in their black pinafores trip to school in the building which also serves as church and town hall.

Although most of rural France is Catholic, Frederic Fontaine happens to lie in a little Protestant pocket, converted several hundred years ago by German Lutherans when the castles of the Wurtembergs dominated this corner of France. For Frederic Fontaine is on the edge of Lorraine, and from the top of the road on fine days one can see the snowcapped Vosges mountains.

IT was from Frederic Fontaine over a half century ago that an ambitious young woman named Sophie Doriot migrated to America and became a teacher of French in a girls' private school near New York. She spent the better part of her life in America but, wanting to enjoy her last days in her own country, she came back to Frederic Fontaine. She bought a house with a garden and was looked upon by the village with pride as one of their "intellectuals." Had she not been made a member of the French Academy?

Then came the war. Mlle. Doriot, appalled by the horror visited upon her little village and those surrounding it, the loss of nearly every able-bodied young man, resolved to dedicate her house to her consuming passion for international peace. The peasants, she argued, are the backbone of France. Without them France cannot wage war. If they refuse to fight, France will find an alternative to war. But how unite the peasants?

In America one of Mlle. Doriot's pupils had been Mary Kelsey of Philadelphia who, after her war work with the Quakers in France, started an international peace movement in a little fishing town on the Normandy coast known as the "Honfleur Conference." It was to her that Mlle. Doriot turned.

Mary Kelsey whose boundless enthusiasm was not daunted by the problem of these literally stuck-in-the-mud villages arrived in Frederic Fontaine one hot July day. She and Mlle. Doriot decided to have a peace conference, to invite all the local inhabitants as well as those of the surrounding towns. Their method of announcing the meeting, since no vehicle was accessible, was to go from house to house and from village to village on foot. At the beginning old Mlle. Doriot undertook this work by herself. At eighty-one years of age, cane in hand, she plodded through the forests to distant hamlets sometimes in her zeal walking from five to seven painful miles.

She was not always received with cordiality. On the contrary, she returned worn out and sick with disappointment from many of her expeditions. For among the people she first approached—pastors and teachers both fearsome of their positions and leadership, small *rentiers* suspicious of innovations—she met with almost universal apathy and even frank antagonism.

Then suddenly something happened and the tide turned—almost over night. No one could ever quite account for it unless it was the reward of the white-haired old lady's faith. The peasants who had known poignantly and personally for generations what war had to give and what it had to take away expressed their enthusiasm for the conference in no uncertain terms. The clergy and the teachers followed their flocks. The apathy of nearly everyone changed to willing coöperation. Even a settlement of Poles who lived on the outskirts of Frederic Fontaine and who could barely understand a word of French nodded their heads when the meeting was explained in German and said they would like to come.

THE church was the only available place of assembly, but at the outset of the campaign its use had been refused by the pastor, ostensibly with the purpose of making the conference impossible. Whereupon the indomitable old lady declared that the meeting would be held in her garden or, if it rained, inside her house. However, with the change of feeling, the pastor suddenly declared that of course the House of God was the only suitable place to hold a peace meeting. The conference must be held in the church. With becoming benignity he accepted the invitation to be chairman.

The first meeting was scheduled for a Sunday afternoon. Lucie Dejardin, Belgium's only woman deputy, who is no stranger to the United States, and Dr. Gustave Loisel of the Sorbonne had consented to be the speakers. The day dawned fickle. First the sun shone dazzlingly, then clouds appeared and it began to pour in torrents. Mlle. Doriot was on tenterhooks. Either the day would prove a great triumph or a great disappointment. Were the people really interested in peace, or had they merely effervesced for politeness' sake and shrugged their shoulders behind her back?

At two o'clock the speakers arrived. The main road of the village from then on began to be peopled with black figures coming from both directions—toothless old men and women in their Sunday clothes, middle-aged women still wearing their widows' veils, but only an occasional able-bodied man spared from the conflict of fifteen years before.

The church bells were ringing loudly. Though it was barely time for the meeting to begin, all the seats were filled to capacity, with children sitting on maternal laps. Respectful way was made for Mlle. Doriot as she arrived with the speakers, and she was urged to sit on the platform. But no, she preferred being one of the audience.

The meeting began. Lucie Dejardin as a speaker should be able to convert war lords to the banner of peace if anyone in the world could. Her black-clad, toil-worn little audience did not need to be told that war had never done them any good. The memories of suffering recalled by her forceful address produced handkerchiefs by the dozen.

But this meeting was not to be merely an emotional bath. Mlle. Dejardin produced at the end a petition for universal disarmament and asked the audience to approve her sending it to Paris and to Geneva as an expression of the will of the people. All hands were raised in assent.

THE following week was a busy one. Mlle. Doriot's hope that her house might become a peace center had been realized. For days the garden was the scene of committee meetings, of villagers plodding in from miles to offer felicitations and to ask if the speakers might come to their towns. Nearly every person over twenty in Frederic Fontaine came to Mlle. Doriot's house to sign the disarmament petition —heavy peasant signatures, used only on occasions of great seriousness—67 women and 46 men. Eventually 2,000 names were added to the petition from other meetings. A local branch of the Women's International League for Peace was formed, and the men organized their own group separately. Other meetings in four nearby villages were enthusiastically arranged, including one at Ronchamp, the railroad junction, where a large proportion of the population consists of miners. Even Belfort on the frontier of Switzerland made overtures for a peace meeting.

When Dr. Loisel returned to his native Normandy, he determined to carry on the work there. The same results ensued. His own village attended *en masse* the meeting which he called and afterwards eagerly signed the petition "with both hands," as one woman said. And at the chief town in the *arrondissement* the mayor himself extended an invitation for another meeting.

Paris papers, impressed with the repercussions from these villages, carried stories of the wild-fire peace movement—a pleasant relief from the usual daily emphasis on the necessity of military preparations and the imminence of war. Old Mlle. Doriot was deluged with warm congratulations and accounts of similar movements being undertaken in other sections of France—undeniable evidence that the government in its war talk does not express the real feelings of all its people.

"A kernel in a granary," one of the peasants at the first Sunday afternoon meeting was heard to remark. "Aye," said his companion, "but when there are enough grains of wheat you may fill your bags and they will stand straight." Mlle. Doriot, with her own hands, opened the bags and invited her compatriots to fill them with the kernels of their longings.

The Cross of Steel

Courtesy of the Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Not in the Headlines

The "Tight Little Isle"

During a recent storm the London *Times* carried the following headline: "Great Storm—Continent Isolated!"

Socialism in Action

Ten cents is the fee charged Los Angeles school children for dental and ocular services rendered by specialists in "healthmobiles" from the city schools.

Danish Pacifist Clergymen

One hundred prominent ministers in Denmark have organized a Society of Anti-Militarist Clergymen, stating that they "will refuse any participation in war and will support all movements working against war."

The Coffee is Burning!

Brazil has so much coffee on hand that prices are disastrously low. An export tax is being used to purchase low-grade stock for destruction. It is expected that 12 million bags will be burned during the next 18 months.

The Flight of Money

From 833 to 952 million dollars have been withdrawn from Germany since last September due to nervousness of foreign investors, a sum more than twice as large as the amount of relief given by the Hoover moratorium, reports the Bureau of Economic Research.

What Do Negroes Do When They are Ill?

A recent investigation by the Rosenwald Fund reveals that in the entire United States there are only 122 hospitals operated for Negroes, and these exist in but 28 of the 48 states. Many are not accredited institutions and offer little or no opportunities for Negro physicians and surgeons to specialize or receive adequate clinical practice.

Three Thousand Refuse

Three thousand young men in Sweden have signed the following declaration: "I pledge myself not to take part in or support any kind of war, either between nations or between my fellow citizens, and to work for total disarmament, for the removal of all causes of war, and for a new social and international order, founded upon the pacifist principle of coöperation for the common good."

The Passing of the Poorhouse

More than 10,000 old people were being cared for at the end of 1930 through the medium of public old-age pensions. This is shown by a survey just completed by the United State Bureau of Labor Statistics. Of 461 counties in the nine States which had old-age pension systems in force, only 137 had adopted the system; the counties reporting spent $1,714,388 in pensions for 10,307 old persons during the year.

Twenty-four for Three

Kansas farmers are trading a bushel of wheat for three loaves of bread, although two dozen loaves are made from one bushel.

One Per Year

The American public buys an average of one book per person per year, according to an investigation made by O. H. Cheney and his staff.

The American Dole

In preparation for the increased misery next winter due to unemployment, a campaign is being launched under the leadership of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment to raise 82 million dollars for community chest budgets for local relief, as compared with 75 millions in 1930, and 73 milliions in 1929.

Let Freedom Ring!

Dismissal of faculty members and students of state-supported colleges and universities who encourage opposition to compulsory military training or who "promote radical pacifism" is recommended by the executive committee of the American Legion of Ohio.

A Call for Smoot and Hawley!

The exports of United States merchandise for the first half of 1931 fell to the lowest point since 1914, dropping from $2,075,717,000 in 1930 to $1,315,956,000 in 1931. Imports for the same period decreased from $1,735,985,000 in 1930 to $1,109,694,000 in 1931.

Peace Caravan Acclaimed

Five thousand people gathered in the Hollywood Greek Theatre at the send-off for the Peace Caravan of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom on its way across the country to Washington. Enthusiastic receptions were accorded in cities enroute and messages were received from governors, mayors and other public officials. Thousands of signatures were appended to the petition calling for complete disarmament.

If Communism Wins

The following demands were made recently by the Communist Party of Germany: "Confiscation of the banks, industry and land; stoppage of the Young Plan payments and repudiation of capitalist debts; the arrest and trial of all capitalists responsible for the financial crisis; full guarantee of all small deposits; confiscation of all deposits exceeding twenty thousand marks (about $4,700); the immediate opening of all factories; confiscation of all food supplies, clothing, etc., for distribution among the masses; confiscation of all large houses so as to provide homes for the unemployed; mass strikes against non-payment of wages; increase of unemployment and social welfare rates; withdrawal of all emergency decrees; abolition of police terror and withdrawal of all prohibitions and the disarmament of all fascists."

17 Control 55 Per Cent

The total resources of 17 New York banking systems approximate 4,206 million dollars, or 55 per cent of the total for the state, reports the *Commonweal*.

Fifty Millions in Charity

Fifty million dollars were sent abroad by Americans in 1930 in the form of missionary, charitable and scientific contributions, reports the Department of Commerce.

French Mayor Endorses Pacifism

The Municipality of Lille permitted the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to hold its executive meeting in the new Lower Hall, and the Deputy Mayor himself made a strong pacifist appeal.

Japanese Policy Changes

The appointment of Count Uchida to the important post of president of the South Manchuria Railway is being interpreted in China as indicating the adoption by Japan of a less militaristic and imperialistic policy in Manchuria.

Socialism in Action

Wyandotte, by owning and operating its electric light, power, water and heating utilities, not only gives its citizens the lowest rates in eastern Michigan but earns a net profit of $200,000 annually.

France Gaining on Germany

The birth-rate in Germany is now lower than that in France, the former being 73 and the latter 80 per 1,000 women aged 15 to 45. Switzerland is lowest in Europe with 70, and Bulgaria is highest with 160. Italy stands at 104, Spain 114, and Poland 136.

Costs More in Haiti

Two million dollars extra were expended to maintain the Marine Corps in Haiti as compared with the normal expenses in this country, according to a report issued by the Department of the Navy.

One-Third Equals 75 Per Cent

Unemployment relief in the United States during the first four months of 1931 cost about 75 per cent of the total for all of 1930, due to increased unemployment and the depletion of the reserves of the victims, reports *The Business Week*.

No Quarter for the Handicapped

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection is authority for the statement that half of the large corporations in the United States now refuse to hire handicapped persons for any kind of work however simple. The total number of physically and mentally handicapped young persons in this country approximates 8,000,000.

Socialism in Action

The weight limit for packages sent by parcel-post was recently increased to 70 pounds for delivery to zones 4 to 8, and the size of packages increased to 100 inches length and girth.

Better Be Careful!

Carelessness in factories and on farms has recently been decreed a crime by the Supreme Court of Soviet Russia in an effort to reduce breakage.

Lucky Hogs!

Since wheat is selling at local shipping points in Kansas at a figure as low as 24 cents per bushel, an all-time low record, some farmers are feeding it to their hogs.

From Japanese Religionists

Acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court was recently urged upon the Japanese Government by a national conference of Shintoists, Buddhists, and Christians in Japan.

Socialism in Action

A total of 1,616 million dollars will be expended for road construction in the United States during 1931 by Federal, state, and local governments, according to a release from the White House.

The League Aids Chinese Education

Professors Becker of Berlin, Falski of Warsaw, Langevin of Paris, and Tawney of London have been appointed as a committee of experts to aid in the reorganization of China's educational system.

Farm Tenancy Increases

The number of farms operated by tenants increased from 2,454,804 in 1920 to 2,664,365 in 1930, while the acreage of those farmed jumped from 264 millions to 306 millions, according to census figures just released.

Fifteen Billions Abroad

American private investments in other lands approximated 15 billion dollars at the end of 1930, reports the Department of Commerce in a new and valuable booklet entitled *A Study of the Balance of International Payments*.

Children's Village in Palestine

In 1926, under the leadership of Dr. Siegfried Lehmann, a number of homeless Russian Jewish children went to Palestine and with their own hands built the village of Benschemen, which they now administer alone. The population consists of more than 200 children ranging in age from 3 to 17 years. The younger ones are brought up by the older ones who manage the farms, the work-shops, and the kindergarten. One of the purposes of the community is to cultivate friendly relations with neighboring Arab tribes.

What Shall We Do About Russia?

BRENT DOW ALLINSON

WE are a foggy industrial city situated on an inland sea. We have lovely homes in gardened suburbs on "the heights", filthy foundries in "the flats", a past that has bequeathed us a deserved reputation for municipal progressiveness if not the Single Tax, and the most sociable habits of coöperation —at least in minor matters. In a word, our virtues are too numerous to itemize, even though we own to a large and growing army of the unemployed begging on the streets. We have done little to mitigate the condition of that army and less to put it to work, except, of course, to pass the buck to the annual Community Fund drive, which went "over the top" this year with exceeding éclat—allegedly, though not entirely, because of the fear of Communism. Now the Community Fund, as history will have it, is supported most munificently and conspicuously by exactly the same people whose competitive industrial policies and narrow political principles have created the unemployment, and who have recently mobilized the rugged individualists of the legislature (mostly rural) to defeat the rising demand on the part of the ragged individualists of the city-streets and their friends, the harmless, respectable middle-class, for the intervention of the State to the end of requiring industry by law to find a way to stabilize itself or, failing that, to insure its principal victims against the merciless ravages of the machine.

The unemployment insurance bill, introduced at the last session of the State Legislature with distinguished support and much publicity, was not permitted even to reach the stage of general debate on the floor of either House. Like other temporarily obscured but not lost causes, it was suffocated in legislative committee under the auspices of the august representatives of the Chambers of Commerce assembled for that purpose. Meanwhile, we live in the glorious renewal of summer and in the feeble faith of a long-predicted general business "pick-up," suspiciously delayed. Oddly enough, the little pick-up we have been able to detect in employment during the last twelvemonth—it is less than three-tenths of one per cent—has come, principally, from an unmentionable or execrable quarter—a quarter which no sensible person would have considered possible two years ago. It has come, to be brutally frank, direct from Moscow through the welcome intervention of Amtorg and the munificent, gilt-edged, cash-contracts for goods and services which that Mephistophelian agency has lately been awarding. More than six hundred firms in the fat but not prosperous valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi have received these ruddy and unexpected Soviet windfalls within a year and their value already totals well over seventy million dollars. Is it any wonder that our best people are discussing the *Gaypayoo* and *Humanity Uprooted* over their cocktails and bridge at the country-clubs?

However deplorable, it is wholly natural, therefore, that the Middle West is becoming acutely Russia-conscious. Every meeting and lecture on the subject, under whatever auspices, in our city is packed to the doors. Nothing can stop the discussion, not even the *polizei,* nor the reserved gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce who are distinctly embarrassed by one of history's major contemporary ironies—so embarrassed that they will not talk. They preserved a stony silence about the situation while the Communist hunger-marchers converged upon the capitol. For the rest, not only the directors and technical staffs of our largest engineering concerns and some of our principal factories which are seeking further contracts for goods and services to be supplied to the sinister Soviet despotism—not only these but the public generally, the leaders of the churches, the press, and even the schools, are studying the new books on Russia, pondering the Soviet enigma, and asking themselves questions not easily answered. They are wondering whether American opinion has been correctly informed about the Soviets, whether American foreign policy toward Russia has been prudent or far-sighted, wise or worthy of American traditions, and if not, what that opinion and policy ought to be.

A SHORT time ago Congressman Fish visited our city and discussed "The Menace of Communism in America" before a large and lively audience at the City Club. He was heckled liberally, but stood his ground in the shadow of the flag, not firing until fired upon, manfully defending himself and the reputation of Congress as "the best government on the face of the earth."

It was pleasant to hear a Congressman who gives an impression of consistency; who does not "vote dry and drink wet" on the subject of his public discourse. Hating and fearing Soviet Russia as a declared enemy of many of our most sainted institutions, believing that its economic success will spell its political triumph, and that American engineering skill and American machinery are principally responsible for the achievements of the Five-Year Plan to date, Congressman Fish emphatically condemned those who are dealing with Soviet Russia for reasons of private profit as guilty of "trading with the enemy". Warning us that Russia,

rmed and equipped with American machinery and nethods, is preparing to capture the markets of the world from American producers of cotton and wheat nd oil and other basic goods, the speaker called for n official economic and political embargo against all ntercourse with Soviet Russia, and demanded the outawry and suppression of the Communist Party in the Jnited States.

It is easy to agree with the bold Congressional prophet as to his first contention, and to believe that he private-capitalist, competitive, speculative, massproducing industrial system may easily commit suicide by its own lack of any coördinated social or industrial plan and by the failure of the political machinery of he democratic state to cope successfully with the evil consequences of the vast aggregations of power and wealth which are in recklessly competitive or monopolistic hands today. But we differ diametrically with Mr. Fish as to what we ought to do in the present crisis —at least as to what we ought to do first about Russia.

If we fear the effects of the rising belligerency of Soviet Russia and of a social and economic system that would undermine democracy; if we condemn a system which denies all the rights of dissenting conscience, the freedom of the press, the equality of persons before the law, and of an independent judiciary honestly administering disinterested justice—a system which disrupts the family, derides religious and moral idealism, denies even the freedom of personal movement and the most elementary respect for equal civil rights—if we deplore all this and dread its consequences, the one logical, constructive measure that has not been tried would be to conclude peace with Soviet Russia. It would be to resolve to make friends of the Russian people who are suffering under this most comprehensive and peculiar tyranny of centuries and, through friendly intercourse, to help them to put an end to the terrible evils of their system and to adopt some of the well-known liberties and securities of ours. And this, by the irony of tragic fate, is what we have neither done, nor made any effort to do, from 1917 until the present hour. Why, then, hasten to proclaim the necessity of renewed blockade and war, when a reasonable and courageous policy of making peace has never been tried?

IT appears, upon investigation, that our national policy toward Soviet Russia has been almost scandalous from the very beginning. We started with a false assumption based upon a complete misconception of the facts, to say nothing of the psychology of the Russian people and of the European Socialist movement. We believed, or pretended to believe, that Lenin and Trotzky were secret agents of the German Government in 1917, employed and transported by the Kaiser for the destruction of Russia during the World War. Our semi-official agents in Russia prepared, or bought, and issued a series of disgraceful forgeries to prove the charge. (I refer to the notorious Sisson documents published by the Creel Committee.) When we began to discover that all this was a fabrication, that the Bolshevik armed bands were, in fact, harrying the German armies in occupation of Russia and assassinating the German agents and protégés in the Ukraine, our military men then in Moscow, Colonel Ruggles and Captain Riggs (with the approval of Ambassador Francis, who had retired to the city of Vologda) secretly offered arms to Trotzky, then commander-in-chief of the new Red Army! A little later when our Allies, the Czecho-Slovaks, perversely began to fight their way westward against the Red Guards instead of clearing out of Siberia as they had promised to do, they found their progress blocked along the Volga by Trotzky and his men, armed in part with American rifles!

But this is by no means all. Our policy rapidly went from bad to worse. Instead of replying to Lenin's offer of negotiations leading to a general European peace on the basis of the renunciation of all conquered territories and of all indemnities (had it been accepted this might have brought peace to Europe in the winter of 1917-1918, and prevented the horrible slaughters of 1918 in France as well as the post-war economic crises revolving about the reparations question) we ignored the appeal although it was backed by the overwhelming sentiment of the Russian people, whose resolution to abandon the massacre nothing could alter. We elected to continue our war to the bitter end—to the disillusionment of Versailles.

IT was this fateful resolution to crush Germany in the West which sealed the doom of democracy in Eastern Europe. Bolshevism seized the hour in the name of instant peace, beat back all its alien enemies, crushed its domestic opponents, and consolidated its octopus-grip upon the lives and resources of the Russian people. We in America, obsessed by the blood-guilt of the Kaiser and his government, could not see beyond the Rhine, supposing falsely that the line which divides Europe in twain was there instead of four hundred miles to the east, where it really is. Thus we fell —too easy victims of the false propaganda painted for us by Allied politicians and publicists. We held fast to the mischievous hands of certain imperial powers, not daring to let go even when they dragged us into crime. In short, we made war against the rising Soviet power without any declaration of war or any authorization to do so by Congress. We have never yet made peace.

For this disaster, the world has paid—and America is paying today in the loss of Russian friendship—a grisly price. There is no room for doubt that the Soviet case, on the grounds of our military invasions, would stand up under the test of any competent inter-

national arbitration, and that the World Court, for example, would assess damages on this score against us. Under circumstances such as these, we have made our case worse by rejecting half a dozen offers of negotiation for a settlement. We have feigned an air of injured innocence, insisting that the Soviet government commit moral suicide and renounce the very principles of its existence before we can enter into any official relations with it. Such an attitude is both absurd and futile, for no revolution that is physically successful will renounce its principles. The United States would not do so in 1783, even though we were induced, years later, to pay some compensation to the British subjects whose property was confiscated by our state governments in the course of the rebellion. Russia likewise will not renounce its revolutionary principles; but its representatives have repeatedly offered to clear away misunderstandings with us and to pay some compensation to the American citizens whose properties in Russia were appropriated by the early Soviet decrees of nationalization. What more can we expect? Fortunately, there are no Czarist debts to this country. The Kerensky government borrowed about 86 million dollars from us and spent most, if not all, of it in the United States to carry on our war against Germany—a war which the Russian people had overwhelmingly repudiated, by the irony of history, at the very moment when the American Government with naïve ardor chose to project itself into the conflict. This debt, and even its accumulated interest, ought to offer no great obstacle to the successful conclusion of negotiations, if there were any real will to peace. How great the legitimate Russian claims are against the United States on account of its armed invasions of Russian territory is clearly a question for a court to hear and determine, a question of fact and of established international law. Who believes that the Russian authorities would refuse to accept the arbitration of the Hague Court concerning these questions? To do so would put them in a very bad light before the rest of the world.

IT is time to propose, therefore, a right-about-face in our Russian attitude, to insist that a statesmanlike policy of peace with justice be given a chance to see what it can do. Soviet Russia hungers for financial credits. Our dollars are going begging. Russia is, as it were, a great economic vacuum into which the winds of surplus capitalism are rushing. Why stop them if they can be made to carry the message of democracy and the burden of peace? Why not carry forward a little propaganda ourselves for the institutions and ideas in which we profess to believe—ideas of personal rights and civil liberties and equality before the law? The Russian people have no correct idea of American life and government; they are fed upon a deadly diet of malicious propaganda, nourished by hatred. But this deplorable state of affa need not continue; that it does is in a large measu our own fault.

There is great need in Russia for a kind of muse of American life and liberty. In New York City have a Russian agency (the Amtorg) with hundreds employees, pictures, maps, charts, and an active bure disseminating information about Communist insti tions, Communist economy, Communist psycholog Why not set up in Moscow a similar American insti tion, representing our national Chamber of Commer and our democratic conceptions of government a life, with capable representatives resident there, to s them our goods *and our ideas,* to interpret our civiliz tion to them? They must permit this if they expect to allow them to maintain the Amtorg agency in th country.

I propose, therefore, to Congressman Fish and the Department of State that we send a missionary Soviet Russia with power to negotiate a full agreeme on all outstanding points of difference. I would ma Senator Borah our envoy extraordinary and plenip tentiary to Moscow, dispatching him at once with capable staff.

SUCH is the policy of peace with Russia which advocate. I would go further and set up a cre of several million dollars for the Soviet governme in this country, as a means of accelerating trade a relieving unemployment. I would do all this in t name of peace before I admitted the necessity of wa Why proclaim the latter when peace has not be tried, particularly when the "enemy" has a good ca against us? Moreover, as Judge Moore, former our distinguished representative in the World Cou declared, we have already recognized Soviet Russia terms of strict international law by having admitt her to partnership in the Kellogg Pact, which can nev be successfully applied in any major crisis without h collaboration.

The choice that lies before us is war or peace wi the greatest power in Europe and the largest politic economic unit in the world—Soviet Russia. If it is be war, then Congressman Fish is right, and we shou lay down an absolute embargo and boycott, for it is i defensible for individual Americans to do profitab business with a country that our government regar as a national enemy. The other alternative is a poli of mutually advantageous friendship, of peace wi justice, of understanding and forbearance on bo sides.

Is it too much to hope that the growing intere in Russia which has taken manifest root in the cities the Middle West—no matter whether it is due to co mercial cupidity or to a sincere intellectual curiosity—will eventually culminate in the attainment of so d sirable a goal?

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

File for Future Reference!

Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year. I should like this prediction to be filed for future reference.—*Governor Norman of the Bank of England, in a private letter to Governor Moret of the Bank of France.*

Humbly with the Under-Dogs

The economic life of all western nations is primarily devoted to material advantages and the satisfaction of the profit motive, and an ethical religion can maintain effectiveness only if it directly enters into active conflict with such a system and succeeds in checking the expansion of mere greed and material desire. An ethical religion must "walk humbly" with the under-privileged, espouse their cause and make them also torch-bearers of the spiritual life.—*Leo Hirsch, in The Standard, May 1931.*

Atavistic Bogies

As to the true purpose of the Red Army and the whole gigantic scheme of military preparation, your correspondent is prepared to stake his reputation on the fact that at present it is purely defensive, and for all he can see now will be so in the future. Europe's nightmares of a "Red horde" sweeping forward to world conquest are, in this correspondent's opinion, either anti-Soviet propaganda *tout court* or atavistic bogies of Attila, Tamerlane and the Turks. . . . One must never forget that the Bolsheviki themselves are still haunted by their own bogey of capitalistic intervention, and it cannot be denied that the years 1918 and 1920 gave them certain ground for misgivings on the subject. —*Walter Duranty, in the New York Times.*

Routing the Surplus

In the entire history of business America, every general reduction of hours and every general rise in wages, however bitterly fought by business and industrial leadership at the time, has been followed by a fresh accession of business activity and general prosperity. It is one of the ironies of history that the very thing for which labor and liberalism have pleaded thru the generations on the ground of simple social justice, namely, high wages, short hours, low prices, are now seen to be the only things that can, in the interest of the solvency of capitalism, keep our industrial order a going concern. . . . The key to national prosperity is the release of the present inactive social surplus of buying power. And a score of America's outstanding business men, bankers, and industrialists have, as I have already suggested ,told me that if a larger share of this social surplus could be wisely routed into the pockets of the consuming millions who, for personal and family consumption, both need and desire to buy more, the wheels of industry and the marts of trade would quickly begin to hum with new activity, economic depression would become a memory thruout the United States, and that, in the long run, the minority now owning this surplus buying power, would actually be better off as far as total wealth is concerned.—*President Glenn Frank, in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine, May 1931.*

Why Prepare for Suicide?

The next war will mean the complete end of civilization as we know it. Everything and everyone will be commandeered.—*Field Marshall Viscount Allenby on his seventieth birthday.*

Keeping Up with the Joneses

The average American family, according to the calculations of Dr. Franklin W. Ryan, is now nearly $400 in debt. As individuals we have run up a bill of some $10,500,000,000 against our future salaries. This figure—greater than all the gold in circulation in the world—represents only "consumer credit."—*Evans Clark, in Nation's Business, May 1931.*

Especially Dividends!

The 1930 depression will be remembered for the general effort made by our leading companies to maintain employment and dividend payments in order to avoid curtailing public consuming power. Statistics of total dividend payments for 1930, according to a compilation by the New York *Times,* show, in fact, a total of $4,638,000,000, against $4,251,000,000 for 1929.—*Richard Whitney, President of New York Stock Exchange, Annual Report, 1391.*

Voltaire's Prayer to God

Thou hast not given us a heart for us to hate and hands for us to kill. Make us help each other to carry the burden of a painful and passing life. Let not the small differences between the clothes that cover our feeble bodies, between all our inadequate languages, between all our ridiculous customs, between all our imperfect laws, between all our silly opinions . . . let not all these nuances which distinguish the atoms called men be signals for hatred and persecution.—*Louis R. Gottschalk, The Era of the French Revolution, p. 66.*

Socialism in the Churches

We are confronted in this generation by the momentous task, not of putting a few patches of reform on an old disintegrating social system, but of establishing a new social order incorporating the principles of Jesus. It must be coöperative, not competitive. It must plan for man-making, not money-making. Consistent Christianity demands repudiation of the old economic order, together with the institutions and political parties that serve to perpetuate it. To that end we should give support and encouragement to the various movements to launch a third party, to organize politically for securing a new economic arrangement of life. And in the meantime we as a church should aggressively and zealously advocate and urge such social, remedial legislation as non-contributive old age pensions, unemployment insurance, drastic reduction of armaments, abolition of tariffs, cancellation of war debts, increased inheritance, income and excess profits taxes, and increasing social ownership of public utilities, natural resources and basic industries.—*Report adopted at the last Annual Conference of the New York district of the Evangelical Synod of North America.*

Champion of Women and Children

*The Story of Grace Abbott**

NONE of the labels attached to Grace Abbott tells you much about her. As Chief of the United States Children's Bureau, she is a Government official. But her breezy Nebraska manner freshens the stagnant Washington atmosphere and blows mental dust out of corners in a way somewhat terrifying to timid bureaucrats.

She is a social worker. Not, however, the slightly unhuman sort of person conjured up in most people's minds by that phrase. She can do good to people without their disliking her. She can even get after them for nefarious doings and still keep on good terms with them. A friend of hers, Ernestine Evans, tells how, when Miss Abbott was working on behalf of immigrants in Chicago, she fought pirate cabmen who fleeced incoming aliens. In spite of her successful campaign against them, the cabbies like this downright young person so much they used to offer her free rides whenever she appeared!

Then, of course, she's a spinster. That label, frequently used by portly gentlemen who deplore her attempt to save children from exploitation, is just as meaningless. Grace Abbott doesn't fit that noun in appearance or temperament. She has a fine, lofty face, with brown eyes that are candid and warm; a wide forehead, from which dark hair is drawn back smoothly; a look of facing with clear, swift directness whatever life has to bring, and a manner that is unselfconscious, frank, eager. She grew up with several brothers, was somewhat of a tom-boy, and has always been a woman to whom men talk as easily as women do. Her own family life is richly happy. She has a charming home in Washington where she lives with her school-girl niece, Charlotte, whom she has mothered for half a dozen years. Boys and girls and children spill all over the place, for Grace Abbott likes children, in the piece as well as the mass, and they like her. She will pause in a moment of her campaign against infant mortality to send baby turtles to a youngster sick in the hospital, or an ingenious new toy to the small child of one of her Children's Bureau staff.

That Nebraska breeziness of hers comes from a childhood spent in the prairie town of Grand Island. She was born of a family of New England abolitionists whose adventuring spirit took them pioneering to Nebraska. She grew up while the Populist movement was seething all over the Middle West, and the rights of the under-dog engaged the public spirit. The family were progressive, but not radical. Susan B. Anthony was an exciting visitor at the home as were other pioneers of the liberal cause. Yet the family stayed within the Republican fold, and her father served a term as Lieutenant Governor of the State.

Grace herself was a clever, healthy-minded child who lived the wholesome life of an average small-town youngster. Back of her, through all the struggles of childhood and the problems of young womanhood, were the warm security of a home and the affection of a devoted family. Later she was to lead in the movement to save hundreds of thousands of fatherless children from the cold efficiency of institutional life—preserve for them, too, the sanctuary of home.

AFTER Grace had finished with the A's and B's of the little red schoolhouse, she went through Grand Island College, did graduate work in the University of Nebraska, and then more or less drifted into teaching. It didn't satisfy her. There must be more exciting, more demanding, types of work. Her pioneer spirit drove her on.

Her next move was to Chicago. After receiving her Master's Degree in Political Science from the University of Chicago, she came into touch with that vital focus of idealism, Hull House. Here, in the midst of Chicago's foreign-born population, she became deeply stirred by the immigrant's problems—his bewildered attempt to adjust himself to American conditions. While still in her twenties she was made director of the Immigrants' Protective League. As its director and later as executive secretary of the State Immigration Commissions of Massachusetts and Illinois, she was the friend of these helpless newcomers.

It was in this work that her interest in children first began to manifest itself. The American-born child of foreign parents has an especially hard row to hoe, and his problems interested Miss Abbott. His chance to get schooling—his freedom from being put to work at too early an age—these have to be saved for him by American institutions.

So it was not a far cry to the next job young Grace Abbott tackled—director of the child labor division in the United States Children's Bureau. The task of this division was to enforce the first Federal child labor law, passed by Congress in 1917. This law established certain protective standards for all children—chiefly, that no child under fourteen should do factory work—and the Children's Bureau was to cooperate with state labor departments in carrying out these provisions.

* One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

After a short time, however, the child labor law was declared unconstitutional and Miss Abbott turned to other activities, including that of adviser on the War Labor Policies Board, and later, Secretary of the Children's Commission of the First International Labor Conference. Her work impressed both official Washington and the social welfare and women's group whose sponsorship had created and nurtured the Children's Bureau. Naturally, then, when its beloved and first chief, Julia Lathrop, resigned in 1921, Grace Abbott was chosen as the logical candidate to take her place.

SINCE then she has given herself so unstintedly to the Children's Bureau that its story is hers, its achievements in large share hers, its friends and enemies are hers. The outstanding fact about Grace Abbott today is that she has identified herself so completely with the welfare of the 43,000,000 children who are the Bureau's constituents that she interprets most issues in politics and economics from the point of view of the child.

An illustration of this single-mindedness is found in an interview in the fall of 1930, during which she was asked to talk about herself as a possible candidate for Secretary of Labor. "What I really want to talk about is the disease of unemployment and what can be done to keep it from inflicting too great an injury on children," she exclaimed.

Notice that she speaks of unemployment as a "disease". Grace Abbott's point of view is that of the social economist—she is no sentimental lady bountiful. She sees many symptoms of an ailing economic order, and if she cannot cure she can and must shield the child from their cruel effects. The Children's Bureau first pointed out—and proved by a study of 23,000 babies born in eight American cities—that poverty can actually *kill babies*. In Baltimore, for example, it was found that in well-to-do homes only one out of every 27 babies dies during the first year, while in poor homes one out of every seven fails to survive.

These facts were sufficiently startling to the smug complacency which holds a baby's death, like his birth, "an act of God." But the Children's Bureau did not rest with stating the case of the 200,000 babies sacrificed annually. The bureau reports hammered home the disgrace of our high infant and maternal death rates until Congress passed, in 1921, the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act.

THIS Act permitted the National Government to give the sort of aid to the states in promoting the welfare of mothers and babies that it had long since given in the building of good roads and the raising of better pigs. A million dollars was appropriated for a limited period, to be matched by State appropriations and expended in this work.

Out in the sheep country of a Western state, young ranchmen diffidently approached the nurse from the Bureau and asked: "Tell us, ma'am, where we can get something to read about mothers. We know about the sheep—that's our business, but sometimes there is no one to do for the women and we want to know how."

The Maternity and Infancy funds were stretched to their utmost to reach as many of these neglected mothers and babies as possible. During seven years a magnificent beginning was made: 124,000 child health conferences were held, attended by a million and a half children; three-quarters of a million expectant mothers were reached through prenatal conferences, classes, literature, etc., and three million home visits were made by nurses.

Poverty also affects older children in many ways, notably by depriving them of their chance for school and play, driving them during tender years into industry. The Children's Bureau investigations of child labor brought this problem before the nation. Patient, first-hand study of more than 50,000 inarticulate Marys and Johns, Antonios, Michaels, Rosas, and Hannahs, told the stories of stunted lives and starved personalities.

Again Grace Abbott began stirring people to do things about it. And from an aroused public sentiment grew the demand for an amendment to the Constitution which would make it possible to give boy and girl workers at least as much protection as had the former national child labor laws.

This movement ended in defeat—of which more later—but its defeat left Grace Abbott's philosophy unchanged. When well fed gentlemen wailed in the lobbies of Congress: "Think of the poor homes which need the money these children bring in," like an avenging sword came Miss Abbott's challenge: "If you continue to use the labor of children as the treatment of the social disease of poverty you will have both poverty and child labor to the end of time."

Infant mortality and child labor are only two parts of the broad program of the Children's Bureau. It also includes all phases of child dependency, neglect, delinquency. To cite but one of the fundamental social movements sponsored by the Bureau in behalf of the dependent child, take the so-called "mother's pension" laws. These laws today keep with their mothers over 220,000 children who might otherwise be in orphanages.

IN all the phases of the Bureau work, Grace Abbott's academic training has been extremely valuable. The basic function of the Bureau is that of a "fact-finding" agency. Her scholarly habit of mind had made its 200 child welfare studies in 45 states models of social research. They are standard in their field, referred to by experts at home and all over the world.

But she is more than a good researcher, a skillful executive. She has the ability to get direct to the Joneses, Browns, and McCoys—the everyday parents who need her help. She has sponsored the series of popular yet authoritative booklets on child care that have reached the astounding circulation of 11,000,000, and have been translated into healthier babies in every hamlet of the land. She has sent the Bureau's message out through motion pictures, posters, exhibits, radio, and the press.

Her sound practical sense has also led her to perform an extremely valuable service to the Bureau in maintaining close contact with the social service and women's organizations whose support has frequently saved it from being a political football. The confidence of these groups was manifested, for example, in her appointment—the fifth woman in 50 years—as President of the National Conference of Social Work in 1923. The power of such backing and its necessity, Washington being what it is, is illustrated by this incident.

During one of the Harding pencil-saving economy waves, the Children's Bureau appropriation was cut in committee. "It's safe to do that," said a wise politician. "We wouldn't dare cut the Bureau of Labor Statistics and hope to get it raised again on the floor of the House, but cutting the Children's Bureau will make the women mad. They will walk up to Congress and get it back."

THIS warm support sustained Miss Abbott in the two bitter attacks she has met during recent years. The first of these was the fight against the child labor amendment. Manufacturing interests sponsored a feverish "anti" campaign intended to throw the country into a panic. They told the farmer's wife that the amendment would prohibit her daughter from washing the dishes. Told the farmer his son would not be allowed to milk the cows. Told Catholics that the Government would, if the amendment were passed, reach out for control of the schools. They cried "states' rights"—Bolshevism—communism, whatnot—anything but the truth: that child labor control might endanger profits.

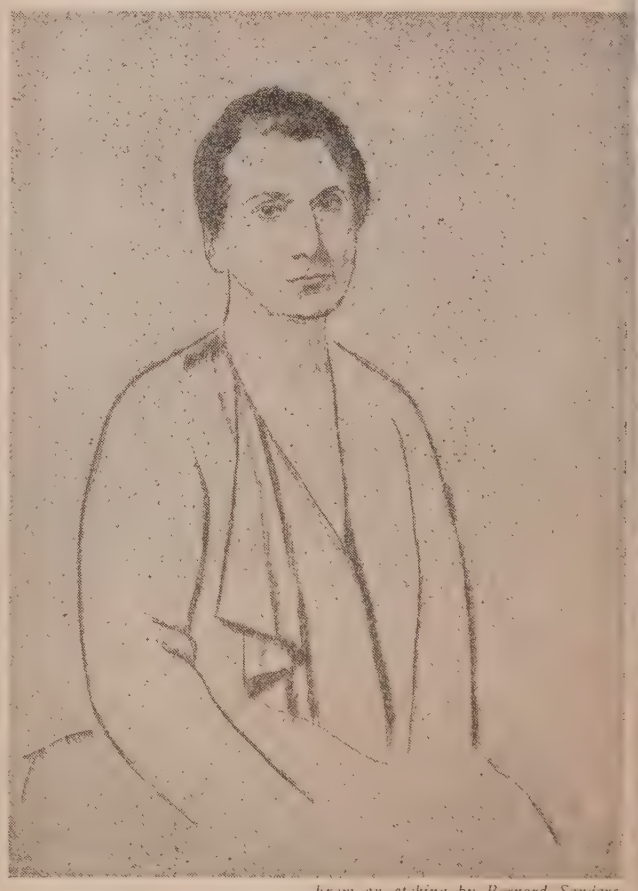
Not only the Children's Bureau, but Grace Abbott herself, became the object of this anti-amendment campaign. It was impossible to find grounds for personal slurs. Miss Abbott's life is an open book. So these opponents resorted to the "meddlesome old maid" line of talk.

The "red" argument also did valiant duty. A publication would discover that Miss Abbott once attended a meeting which was also attended by Rosika Schwimmer and that Madam Schwimmer had been called a German agent by the Lusk committee. Such facts seemed to prove that the Bureau and its chief were either German, Socialist, Bolshevist, or all three.

It was a tribute to the sound direction of the B reau's work by Miss Abbott that no real flaws cou be picked in its child labor reports or in the statemen of its chief. Grace Abbott herself has a prodigio capacity for keeping a mass of statistics at her finge tips. Before Congressional committees she is an e fective witness. Her knowledge of her subject is ev dent to even the worst of the hecklers and her answe are so forthright, so free from weazel words, that sh commands her opponents' respect.

Therefore when the Children's Bureau chief coul —at the request of Congress—meet opposition face t face, she won. Congress passed the child labor amen ment. But in an appeal to the country she and th friends of children lost. The amendment has not s far been ratified by a sufficient number of states t make it part of the law of the land.

This struggle was taxing and disheartening. Mor than most women, Grace Abbott has a saving sense o humor. She is not especially thin-skinned. But neithe is she as impersonal as the average man in politica life. The attacks hurt, but never for a moment di Grace Abbott consider giving up the fight for children in which she had played so dominant a rôle.



From an etching by Bernard Sanders

Grace Abbott

THE second attack came, ironically enough, during the White House Conference on Child Welfare called by President Hoover in November, 1930. Ironically, because the very creation of the Bureau was in large measure the result of the first White House Conference, called by President Roosevelt in 1909, and the Bureau itself sponsored the second White House Conference, called in 1919 by President Wilson.

Hardly had the 1930 Conference convened when one of its committees recommended curtailing the activities of the Bureau by transferring its child health work to the United States Public Health Service. This proposal went far deeper than the question of governmental reorganization in the interests of logic or efficiency. The Children's Bureau is dedicated to the theory that all phases of child welfare constitute an inter-related whole—that child health cannot be divorced from social and economic factors, that the doctor, the social worker, the economist must join forces.

The White House Conference committee, however, apparently represented a more narrowly medical point of view. The representatives of the American Medical Association have actively opposed the work of the Bureau under the Maternity and Infancy Act as meddling interference by the Government in a matter which is none of its concern. This opposition does not include many of the leading physicians of the country, but its attitude apparently influenced the Conference committee.

It was obvious that their report was expected to go through almost as a matter of routine. But the news leaked out, the press seized upon it, the delegates were aroused.

After spirited debate, the anti-Children's Bureau report was tabled. This was a victory which it is to be hoped will be felt in pending legislation. The Maternity and Infancy Act, which lapsed in 1929, is again before Congress.

AND now for the future. What can Grace Abbott look forward to? A man who had carried on successfully a work of such outstanding importance and appeal as hers might hope for political advancement. A woman has little chance for the "glory jobs." Grace Abbott herself apparently does not even hanker after them.

She was asked at a recent Congressional hearing which of two bills she preferred. One made the Chief of the Children's Bureau Chairman of the Federal Board of Maternal and Infant Hygiene; the other named the Surgeon General.

"I have no objection to the Surgeon General's being chairman," she replied. "I think he would like to be, and it makes little difference to me."

She was undoubtedly sincere in saying this. She lost no sleep when the movement to promote her as candidate for Secretary of Labor died the natural death political observers expected. It was an amazingly widespread movement which received the backing not only of women's organizations but of the labor movement, of economists and business men. But it gained no encouragement from her. Perhaps her lack of personal ambition is a fault. If so, its compensation is that it gives her an impregnable strength in the center of the political swirl of Washington.

"Sometimes," she says, "when I get home at night I feel as though I had been in a great traffic jam. The jam is moving toward the Capitol where Congress sits in judgment on all the administrative agencies of the Government. There are all the kinds of conveyances, for example, that the Army can put into the street—tanks, gun carriages, trucks, the dancing horses of officers, and others which I have not even the vocabulary to describe. But they all finally reach the Hill and they make a plea that is a very old plea—one which I find in spite of the reputation for courage that they bear, men respond to rather promptly. The Army says to them, 'Give, lest you perish'; and fear as a motive is still producing results on a scale which leave the rest of us feeling very envious of the kind of eloquence the Army and Navy command.

"Then there are the hay-ricks, binders and ploughs of the Department of Agriculture. When the drivers get to the Hill they have an argument Congressmen understand. They say to them, 'Dollars invested on this side of the ledger bring dollars on the other side."

"Then there are still other vehicles. The handsome limousines in which the Department of Commerce rides, the barouches in which the Department of State rides with such dignity, the noisy patrol which the Department of Justice uses. I stand on the sidewalk with a great deal of timidity watching traffic become more congested and difficult, and then because the responsibility is mine and I must, I take firm hold on the handles of the baby carriage and I wheel it into the traffic. There are some people who think it does not belong there at all, there are some who wonder how I got there with it and what I think I am going to be able to do, and there are some who think the baby carriage is the symbol of Bolshevism instead of the home and the future of America."

Though it's a perilous course this baby carriage pursues, the woman who guides it has courage, skill—and impatience. Is impatience, like discontent, sometimes divine? In this case, if ever. "They call me impatient," she says, "perhaps I am."

"I've said again and again, the only time we can save the babies who are going to die this year is *this* year. If we wait till next year they will be dead. The future rests in the hands of the children of today. What we do for them *now* is going to determine not only the future of the United States but the future of the world."

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Slag From Our Best Minds

They Told Barron. Edited by Arthur Pound and Samuel Taylor Moore. Harper's. $5.00.

CLARENCE W. BARRON was for many years publisher of the *Wall Street Journal* and other financial publications and was a giant in big business circles. After his death the diary and daily notes which he had jotted down faithfully for several decades were turned over to Pound and Moore for publication. The index of names of persons mentioned in the volume reads like a Who's Who of financial and political America, to say nothing of numerous notables from other lands. Throughout, the diary is characterized by utter frankness if not absolute recklessness. Much of the contents is devoted to a record of intimate conversations in homes, clubs, offices and railway compartments. The reader is given glimpses of our best minds at work and play. The portrayals herein presented do not brighten the halo about the heads of the mighty, to say the least.

The profundity of the economic and political wisdom of Edward L. Doheny, the oil magnate, is thus revealed: "If you believe in democracy you cannot believe in Socialism. Socialism is the poison that destroys democracy . . . a majority of the college professors in the United States are teaching Socialism and Bolshevism . . . President Eliot of Harvard is teaching Bolshevism. William Boyce Thompson is teaching Bolshevism and he may yet convert Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Company." Charles M. Schwab is quoted as saying that "Mellon may be the next President." Whelan, the tobacco magnate, said: "Mitchell Palmer is to be Democratic candidate for President." Governor Lowden told Newell Dwight Hillis: "My one ambition is to free labor from the dominion of Gompers. Everybody should be free to labor how and when he pleases and not under Gompers' dictation. We want to keep this (Chicago) convention sweet and clean and engender no hard feelings anywhere." Will Hays said: "When the canvass began, a list of 8,000 men who ought to give $1,000 each to the Republican campaign was made up and when it was compared with the registry, it was found that 5,000 of them had never registered to vote." The Chairman of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad thought that "Hoover is the most dangerous man in the Cabinet." Henry Ford believes that "the great cure for wars is to have all the world speak the English language." In response to the question, "Why is it that nobody can paint a picture of Coolidge with any expression?" Frank W. Stearns, intimate friend and adviser, replied: "He is a tough subject in repose; when his face is relaxed, it is blank." J. P. Morgan said: "Mussolini is a very great man."

The following frank confession was made by a tobacco manufacturer: "There is no secret about cigarette making. Anybody can analyze a Camel and manufacture it, but the users would say it was not the same. Such is the power of advertising." William Randolph Hearst is quoted as saying: "You know I believe in property, and you know where I stand on personal fortunes, but isn't it better that I should represent in this country the dissatisfied, than have somebody else do it, who might not have the same real property relations that I may have?" William B. Thompson said: "Hearst is now willing to support a sales tax. Am I not doing right to keep in close touch with Brisbane?" Mr. William M. Wood, President of the American Woolen Company, told Barron: "American Woolen Company showed $9,000,000 net last year, but really made $14,000,000. Our policy this year will be to show as little profit as possible. If you show big earnings you never will get them; your employees will insist upon an advance in wages." Percy N. Furber, an oil producer, declared that revolutions in Mexico were engineered by Americans, and to be specific: "H. Clay Pierce put up the money behind Francisco Madero and started the revolution."

The vice-president of the Woolworth Company "tells me that Samuel Untermyer has one hundred and sixty-seven men employed on his place at Yonkers." In a footnote we read: "George Kessler, famous as a sport, high liver, and speculator. At his death his collection of fans was said to be worth more than $1,000,000." D. J. MacMillan said: "Percy Rockefeller made big money both ways. He made $40,000,000 on the upswing of stocks and $25,000,000 on the downswing." One entry reads: "The evening before, I learned from one formerly associated with W. B. Thompson that at one time he was worth $60,000,000 or $100,000,000, I forget which." Sixty millions *or* one hundred millions—I forget which!

K. P.

Confusion of Tongues

Living Philosophies. A Series of Intimate Credos. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

NOTHING could illustrate the chaos of modern culture more perfectly than this symposium of personal credos, originally published in the *Forum and Century* and now appearing in book form. The authors are chosen from every field of thought and action—novelists, artists, critics, philosophers and scientists. Dean Inge and Hillaire Belloc are the only representatives of traditional religious faith. The others begin by reporting the gradual decay or sudden decline of old beliefs in their youth and proceed to elaborate the creed which they have been able to work out for themselves. Every shade of faith and unbelief is represented.

Mr. Einstein believes in the orderliness of the universe and identifies religion with awe before mystery. He also hates war, as does Bertrand Russell and both believe in the possibility of building a better world. John Dewey and Lewis Mumford both give themselves constructively to the social problem, but Mr.

Mencken and Mr. Nathan regard all efforts at social progress as futile. Mr. Mencken has a Nietzschian philosophy, strongly qualified by an un-Nietzschian futilitarianism. Mr. Nathan is a frank hedonist who wants to let the world alone and find happiness in wine, women and song, but the wine must be good, the women amiable (and he doesn't want to marry until after fifty), and the songs must not be ribald. He is, in short, an epicurean in the true sense. Theodore Dreiser worries about the mystery of life and is outraged by the affront of death, yet he finds a degree of serenity in the contemplation of beauty. The mystery which prompts Einstein to awe seems to fill him with a sense of frustration.

Mr. Babbitt believes with Theodore Dreiser that the natural man is filled with the lust to power, but unlike Mr. Dreiser he believes that something can be done about it. He believes that man's lusts may be checked, once our contemporary culture exorcises the spirit of Rousseau. Babbitt's analysis of the modern problem has much to commend it but it would be a great boon if he would write some time without making Rousseau the center of his picture. Surely this solitary figure cannot be the unfailing source of every vice to which our day has succumbed! John Truslow Adams believes that it is possible to construct a moral code out of the total experience of the fathers, in which faith he does not diverge very far from Mr. Babbitt. But Joseph Wood Krutch is a complete moral sceptic who finds no possibility of working out general moral rules.

Sir James Jeans, who would have done well to stick to the stars, about which he has lately offered illuminating instruction, roams in the field of social theory and manages to say some very ridiculous things. Like Mr. Mencken and Dean Inge he has little confidence in democracy and he may be justified in his doubts, but his solutions show little understanding of the realities of an industrial civilization. He might do well to read the chapter written by his countrywoman, Beatrice Webb, who manages, in the opinion of this humble reviewer, to write one of the best chapters in the whole symposium. She deals with both the social and the spiritual problem of modern man sanely and helpfully. Considering the heterogeneity of all these philosophies of life and the reputation for wisdom of the men who concocted them, one wonders whether intelligence has anything to do with our ultimate attitudes except as it helps us to speak plausibly about them.

R. N.

Unmaking the Criminal

The Crime of Punishment. By Margaret Wilson. Harcourt, Brace. $3.00.

Taming the Criminal. By John Lewis Gillin. Macmillan. $3.50.

The Education of Adult Prisoners. By Austin H. MacCormick. National Society for Penal Information. $2.50.

CRIME and the criminal would seem to be persistent problems of society, particularly in these United States. For long there was but one method in dealing with this situation: punishment. Life has been destroyed by the state in great abundance, inhuman jails have been built throughout the land, and the prison population has steadily mounted. Through such procedure the potential criminal was to be "frightened" into an observance of the rules by which society chooses to live.

But the very stupidity of penal methods merely served to increase the number of criminals, and the theory that severity was a deterrent has proved more than untenable. Gradually we are turning to something else. As far as society is concerned, it is not nearly so important that crime should be punished as that the criminal should be reclaimed. Once this idea took possession of our criminology, vast changes were in the offing. Unfortunately, practice still lags pitifully behind theory and many prisons remain brutal torture chambers, as the frequent and increasing prison riots demonstrate.

But there are changes and these deserve recognition. That highly important measure, classification of delinquents, is making headway. The "progressive stage system" holds great promise. Prisoners are being kept at productive labor and are receiving wages for their work. A new type of prison official is gradually being trained. Experiments are being made in after-care. All these are the methods by which the new criminology hopes to unmake the criminal.

Of the books cited above, Margaret Wilson's points the moral of the theory of punishment. It is brutal and achieves nothing. Gillin's volume is a very readable and informed account of his visits in 1927-1928 to various "new prisons," including the best in England, Belgium, Switzerland, India, and Japan. Unfortunately the experiments of Russia and Mexico are not included; these, however, are readily available in other volumes. MacCormick's study is a practical manual which ought to be of service in all educational and library work among prisoners.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT.

The Truth About American Business

The Nemesis of American Business. By Stuart Chase. Macmillan Co. $2.00.

ONLY a few of the ten chapters of this book are concerned with the current economic crisis; but since the volume as a whole deals with all the important aspects of our economic system, it has a vital bearing on present conditions. As a rule Stuart Chase is strongest in his handling of figures. The reviewer is aware of no other writer who can treat facts and data so effectively as Mr. Chase. Any table of statistics is alive and full of significance after it has gone through the crucible of his mind.

Like the author's previous studies, this book is a forceful indictment of an economic system which permits capital to run amuck at the expense of the population, which crushes individuality, kills the human equation both in master and slave, and is helpless before the products of its own make. The chapter dealing with the organization of big business from the standpoint of the individual ("The Luxury of Integrity") is a devastating rebuttal to Mr. Hoover's "rugged individualism." Of similar interest are the chapters entitled "The Abuse of Capital," "Seven Salesmen and Six Hundred Engineers," and "Fired at Forty."

The last chapter, "A Private Utopia," deals with the author's ideal of the future. Although one may agree with him on many points, the future is too hazy for anybody to look into it clearly. Moreover, Mr. Chase is much stronger in his criticism than in his remedies. In the task which he has set himself to analyze our economic life with all its ramifications, and to keep track of its development and tendencies, he succeeds admirably. But his facts, figures, and conclusions are after all only raw material which will need new minds and new hands to be converted into a complete and satisfying economic structure.

This book is strongly recommended to all who wish to learn the truth about the great problems of the United States not from after-dinner speakers and politicians, but from people who take facts seriously and know how to interpret them.

B. CHARNEY VLADECK

At the Peak of Prosperity

Wages in the United States, 1914-1930. Published by the National Industrial Conference Board, New York City. $3.00.

THE National Industrial Conference Board represents the powerful manufacturing interests of this country and is therefore a conservative organization. The volume under consideration is a comprehensive and comparative study of wages in manufacturing industries, public utilities, railroads, building trades, and agriculture.

The following figures are for 1,440 manufacturing plants, employing 634,000 workers during the last quarter of 1930: average weekly earnings of entire group $24.17; skilled and semi-skilled $29.15; unskilled $21.91; all female $15.98.

The highest averages for any industry during the past ten years are found in the printing trade (newspapers and magazines) as follows: skilled and semi-skilled $45.74 (1929); unskilled $26.05 (1925); all female $21.36 (1929). The lowest averages for the decade are found in the cotton industry of the north (the figures for the south not being given) as follows: skilled and semi-skilled $20.60 (1921), $22.15 (1930); unskilled $17.52 (1921), $17.78 (1930); all female $14.80 (1921), $14.06 (1930). Since these are *average* wages, many workers fall below these figures.

At the peak of prosperity in 1929 the following average weekly wages were paid by the railroads: passenger engineers $66.35; conductors $60.96; firemen $50.23; brakemen $42.28; skilled shop labor $37.54; unskilled shop labor $18.14.

White-collar salaried workers will find it illuminating to translate these figures into annual earnings. If railway engineers work regularly every week at the above rate their annual earnings will reach $3,450; skilled printers $2,378; skilled employees in the cotton industry $1,152, unskilled $915, female $770; unskilled railroad shop labor $943. But, of course, few workers are able to work continuously due to sickness, accidents, changes of jobs, bad weather, and enforced unemployment. And the figures for 1931 when published will reveal sharp reductions in wages.

K. P.

A Social Survey of England and France

Social Politics and Modern Democracies. Charles W. Pipkin. Macmillan Co. 2 vols. $7.50.

PROFESSOR PIPKIN gives us, in these two volumes, the social history of England and France from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time. His particular interest is the gradual adjustment of political democracy to the facts and necessities of an industrial civilization. Ethically, his work is the history of the growth of the equalitarian ideal in modern industrial society. Politically, it tells of the slow destruction of nineteenth-century individualism before the necessities of an industrial state in which the latter is called upon to interfere more and more in social and economic process in order that some kind of equilibrium may be preserved. Socially, it is the story of the rise of the labor movements and the inevitable growth of collectivist philosophy.

The volumes are a well of information for social philosophers and historians. One of the most interesting aspects of the author's account is the relation between a growing social conscience in the whole community and the demands of the underprivileged portion of the community in effecting changes in the social structure. Social insurance, old age pensions, the right to organize, housing schemes, electoral reform—all of the various measures by which an industrial society tries to save itself from sinking into a consistent inhumanity are placed upon the statute books partly through the growing political power and cohesion of those classes which derive chief benefit from them and partly because there is a gradually developing social conscience within the community itself.

It is to be regretted that Professor Pipkin did not include Germany in his analysis, or substitute Germany for France, if only two nations were to be chosen. Much might have been learned from the contrasts and similiarities which the German scene reveals in relation to England and France.

One gathers the impression that, though modern industrial societies do try by the use of political methods to negate the tendency toward injustice which inheres in the economic system itself, in the case of both England and France, decades of political struggle still leave the worker without many necessary securities and society far from the equalitarian goal which the whole process assumes. Will further melioristic efforts reach such a goal or is modern society moving toward a social crisis? The facts which Professor Pipkin gives us could be used by both optimists and catastrophists without much difficulty.

R. N.

Your Job and Your Pay

Your Job and Your Pay. By Katherine H. Pollak and Tom Tippett. Vanguard Press. $2.00.*

ANYONE who wants a plain, straightforward introduction to labor problems and the methods of dealing with them will find this volume accurate, informative, and readable. High school and junior college classes will gain from it a clearer insight into the American scene than from ninety per cent of the economics textbooks now in use, and it ought certainly to be on their supplementary reading lists.

The book is written primarily for workers, however. Its aim is to give a picture of the ills from which the worker suffers, how the industrial and political system which involves these evils came into being by a process of evolution rather than malicious planning on the part of any individual or group of individuals, what has been done through legislation or trade union action to remedy the situation, and what alternatives to the present economic system have been thought practicable by labor leaders and idealists.

Most textbooks so far offered to workers' classes have talked the language of the college class room; this one talks the language of the workers. The authors have learned how to do it by years of actual contact with workers and by the teaching of classes in labor education. The book in mimeographed form was used by several hundred workers before it was put into print and has had the benefit of criticism from them. Its usefulness is increased by an appendix which gives for each chapter a list of questions—some for rapid review, some for thought and discussion, some for special consideration by unionized workers, and some for special consideration by unorganized workers. The appendix also contains lists of books and pamphlets carefully annotated so that students and teachers who may not have much knowledge of the available literature need not buy at random and then find their purchases useless.

The authors are to be congratulated for having done a much needed and difficult job exceedingly well. It is to be hoped that this interesting collaboration of an Illinois coal miner and a Vassar graduate may result in more such contributions to the literature of the labor movement.

A. J. MUSTE

* Paper bound edition, $1.00. Order from Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.

WE RECOMMEND

The International Note in Contemporary Drama. By Dr. Evelyn Newman. Kingsland Press. New York. $2.50. A scholarly and illuminating survey of the works of leading French, German, British, and American dramatists.

Europe and the American Civil War. By Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt. Houghton Mifflin. 300 pages. $4.00. A contribution to the growing literature of the press and public opinion. The study covers the entire European press, though emphasis is placed on England, France, and Spain.

Journey to China. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Richard R. Smith, Inc. $5.00. A travel diary by an observant scholar with literary ability. His itinerary carried him through Southeastern Europe, the Near East, India, China, Japan, Siberia, and Russia. Englishman that he is, Professor Toynbee could give Americans lessons in swift locomotion.

Stories of the South, Old and New. Edited by Addison Hibbard. University of North Carolina Press and W. W. Norton Company. $3.00. A choice collection of short stories by a score of well known writers covering many aspects of southern life. The contributors include Lucy Furman, Olive Dargan, Joel Chandler Harris, Irwin S. Cobb, Paul Dunbar, O. Henry, Paul Green, etc.

Miracle at Verdun. By Hans Chlumberg. Brentano's. 161 pp. $2.00. An attempt by another young German writer to do in dramatic form what Remarque did in a novel. Millions of World War dead of all nations rise from their graves and demand to know why they have died. They find that their so-called sacrifice has been forgotten and that the world, no wiser than in 1914, is rushing toward another war. A powerful play as performed by the Theatre Guild in New York.

The History of Science and the New Humanism, by George Sarton. Henry Holt and Company. $2.00. This book embodies the Colver lectures at Brown University and presents a plea for healing the breach between scientists and humanists in modern education. "The evils of the so-called machine age have been caused by the aloofness of the old humanists as well as by the narrow-mindedness of some scientists, but above all by the insatiable greed of the men of prey," declares the author. An able book but too small for the price which the publishers charge for it.

Union Management Cooperation on the Railroads, by Louis Aubrey Wood. Yale University Press. $4.00. A careful attempt to evaluate the plan for coöperation between employers and unionized employees which has been in effect for several years in the shops of a number of important railroad systems, and which is often referred to as the B. & O. Plan because of its introduction by that road. A detailed description of the actual work processes in railroad shops is included and greatly increases the value of the book for the student. As to whether the plan benefits management and men and in what proportion, the author states: "It can scarcely be claimed that the time has arrived when anything like a verdict on it may be given." For the men, in addition to the certain psychological satisfaction derived from working in an atmosphere of coöperation, the chief gain has been steadier employment.

Sowjet Union, gestern, heute, morgen. By Max Hodann. Deutsche Verlags-Aktien Gesellschaft, Berlin. 264 pages. 7 Marks. A widely read German survey of Russia with 70 photographs. The pictures alone tell a vivid tale.

Since Calvary—An Interpretation of Christian History. By Lewis Browne. Macmillan. $3.50. The author of *This Believing World,* a popular "outline" of religion, turns his attention in this new book specifically to Christian history. The story of Christianity is told with vigor and imagination, but with an imagination which seems incapable of comprehending the profoundest insights of religion or the deepest springs of religious emotion. While there are some inaccuracies in the book, it nevertheless reflects diligent study of the significant scholarly treatises on Christian history.

CORRESPONDENCE

Linking Art and Peace

THE job before the peace workers of the world is not to convince a minority of thinking people that peace is desirable: it is to get a new mind-set into the masses which will make peace more colorful, more glamorous, and more moving than war. So far, with all their conferences, committees, literature and all good sense and sanity on their side, the advocates of peace have scarcely made a dent. A May-Day parade with the police force and a brass band does more to stir the hearts of the masses towards a military mind-set than a thousand sermons and tons of literature can do for peace. When will the pacifist apostles "catch on"?

Said one worthy old scholar working his last gray hairs off for peace: "Do you think music and drama and dance can convince people that international differences can be settled by peaceable means?" I asked the good man if he knew of any war that was ever made without the aid of music. As for the dance, what is the swinging step of the regiment but a dance? And the flight of the planes that sets the hearts of the citizenry afire—what is it but a dance? The fact is: war-mindedness is a rhythm, and that rhythm is created by the arts. As for the drama—the whole military system is a costumed dramatization in which the ego is compensated for all the inferiority civil life imposes.

If we are ever to have a peace rhythm, it will come not through words in booklets and sermons but by means of the arts of sound, motion, and color. So far, the forces of war have had it all their own way. Go to the Newsreel Theatre and you will see six out of ten items that are military. The war-makers have the pictures. They win by color, motion, and music! Peace will make real headway when its advocates learn to dramatize and dance its glories. Let them promote great pageants (as artistically produced as a military parade) and dance-drama, and let the rhythms of industry and labor, of religion and freedom have colorful presentation.

Call upon the artists; let them bring their spiritual resources to the service of universal brotherhood, and world peace. I suggest that workers for world understanding meet in general conference with those artists of America who have the vision of a new age, and devise ways and means for coöperation. Ruth St. Denis should be persuaded to lead the artists in this work. Her Society of Spiritual Art looks definitely toward some such mobilization.

New York City WILLIAM H. BRIDGE

The Last Page

"A CONSERVATIVE," an inspired schoolboy once wrote, "is a greenhouse full of hot air." But he was hardly talking of the British kind. Eccentricus is keen on the warmheartedness of many, indeed most, residents of the British Isles. There is nothing on earth so compelling of friendly respect as the London Bobby. Conductors of trams and busses everywhere in Britain put our nickle-slingers to shame. But there exists in England, nevertheless, a class of conservative humans—for in many respects they resemble that species—who are neither verdant nor warm.

Surfeited with the acquisition of too much knowledge, and eager to give out for a time instead of being taken in, Eccentricus spent a couple of months last winter tucked away in an odd corner of the Riviera. He kept away from the ebullient spirits of Cannes and Nice, and sequestered himself amid the real French, a number of real English, and a great many Britishers who simply can't be real.

The atmosphere of our town was as blue and clear as glacial water, but only a trifle less frigid. In the hotels there, florid gentlemen in dinner coats or worse, drank formal beer and discussed formally the latest anti-labor editorials of *The Morning Post*. There were far more monocles here than in all of London. I have actually seen strong men sit silently for three-quarters of an hour and do nothing except vigorously twirl their moustaches,—the first long-distance moustache-twirling Eccentricus has seen since Uncle Ebenezer discarded his three-inch stiff collar back in 1897.

Down the street, on any sunny afternoon—and many of them were sunny despite my skeptical nature—it was possible to count, on the fingers of two hands, no fewer than thirty feminine hats—I believe they were feminine—which made their wearers look like nothing so much as the lampshade characters recently in vogue, taken from the pages of *Godey's Lady's Book*. Robert Louis Stevenson once wrote here; not far north he travelled with Modestine, his famous donkey; but I will wager a mess of the finest snails against the British Museum that I could have found in twenty-four hours fifty dowagers wearing hats of the Queen Alexandra epoch who consider R.L.S. a scandalous modern. This was the sort of place where, if Lord Astbourne went out for ten minutes without his malaga stick, forgot to take tea, failed to dress in dowdy elegance, or laughed out loud, there would be a Grade A scandal. Once a careless man from Dundee played past four o'clock on the golf links, and at tea the rest of them sent out a search party, expecting to find him with a broken ankle at the fourteenth hole.

Leaders of those brave men and women who are striving so sacrificially for a new order in Britain, can console themselves in one regard: their work is made immeasurably easier by the British conservative export trade.

* * *

NO wonder, then, that the native Provençals drink strong *vin rose,* sing and dance on the least excuse, love ardently, and in short act generally like children of the sun. Not even the mistral, sweeping down the Rhone Valley with the sharpness of a sword, can cool this sort of fire. As another schoolboy once wrote, about the Good King René of Provence, "When King René died, they gave him a wonderful funeral. It took sixteen men to [illegible] the beer."

One of the old Provençal folk-stories is not without a ce[illegible] charm. Looking down from on high, so the peasants say, God [illegible] the Angel Gabriel were alarmed over the dancing, feasting, [illegible] easygoing ways of the Provençals. They sought for a means to [illegible] all this, and finally, noting that the feasting depended upon [illegible] as did the whole attitude of the people toward the world and [illegible] life around them, God took fire away. A great chill settled [illegible] the people; gone was their joy, their lightsome hearts, their l[illegible] their merriment. At length, when they had been taught a le[illegible] Gabriel came down, carrying fire in his arms, and offered to [illegible] some of it to anyone who would pledge himself to a life of s[illegible] duty and meticulous rectitude. But no one, suffering as the pe[illegible] were, would make so hard a pledge as this. One old woma[illegible] stick in hand, touched it to Gabriel's fire, pleading to be giv[illegible] little, although she would not devote herself wholly to the lif[illegible] strict behavior. Gabriel, naturally, drew away, and went on h[illegible] a disappointed spirit. A few days later, peering over the heav[illegible] margins of Paradise, they found a cloud of savory smoke ari[illegible] from the earth, and heard shouts of glee, intermingled with de[illegible] rations of love, snatches of song, and the mad dance music of [illegible] *farandole*. It then dawned on Gabriel that the old woman [illegible] tricked him, and had stolen some of the heavenly fire. He [illegible] all for vengeance of the harshest character. But God, look[illegible] down, a little sadly, to be sure, and yet with a bit of a chuc[illegible] bade him be still. "After all," said the Kindly Ruler, "fir[illegible] better than ice, and even this is far more full of promise than [illegible] hopelessness and the listless chill of the people when I took th[illegible] warmth away."

* * *

I HOLD no brief for all the behavior of the Provençals; bu[illegible] found them far more congenial—dare I say it?—than [illegible] British in the uppercrusty quarter. Here, after a few sort[illegible] one's eyes become a bit fed up with antiquities and grow fatig[illegible] from the dust of the ages.

* * *

BUT they *will* warm up a little. After ten days of eating [illegible] the same room and walking around the same lobbies, one [illegible] the kindlier sort spoke to me as he passed me on the stairs. H[illegible] words were, "I beg your pardon." And on the highroads I ve[illegible] tured also. Passing an English family party, and having for thi[illegible] minutes to share the same ditch while one of those pocket-siz[illegible] autos refused to yield precedence to a clamorous Hispano-Sui[illegible] I felt ill at ease until I spoke up, chummily: "Beautiful he[illegible] otherwise." There were shocked stares at this intrusive spee[illegible] unpreceded by an introduction and a month's acquaintance. Glanc[illegible] of mute inquiry were exchanged among the injured group. [illegible] length, in the heart of the kindly mother of the family, beati[illegible] in the unfailing Anglo-Saxon if belated courtesy, some tender r[illegible] sponsiveness stirred. She answered, volubly if not unkindly, "Yes[illegible]

I yield to no man in my veneration for all the English exce[illegible] this sort, whether stay-at-homes or expatriates. I have, howeve[illegible] come definitely to the conclusion that the only good Englishman [illegible] a live Englishman.

ECCENTRICUS

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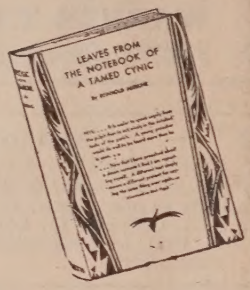

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